

Man's Birthright

or

THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY

by Edward H.G. Clark

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

The author of *Man's Birthright* claims to have arrived at a logical and well-founded solution of the vexed questions concerning the rightful ownership of the Earth's surface and of property depending upon what Aristotle calls "Nature's bounty."

In associating their imprint with an essay dealing with such "burning questions," the publishers think it proper to say that they do not find themselves in accord with certain of the conclusions arrived at by the author. These conclusions appear to them, however, to be ably and forcibly presented, and to be entitled to respectful consideration, and it is their belief that the essay should be of service in inducing discussion in the right direction.

It is their opinion also that Mr. Clark's reasonings should prove of special service in offsetting the **barren and pernicious theories of Henry George**, in pointing out a method by which the "natural right" of each generation to some ownership in the surface of Earth can be respected without destroying the status of individual property upon which the existence and the development of civilized society depends, and finally in suggesting a logical and equitable basis for taxation to replace the various muddled and inequitable systems now in force.

It is in the hope that in these directions the book may lead to a wider and more intelligent discussion of the proper relations of the individual to society, that the publishers find themselves interested in placing it before the public.

Grower Cleveland's first term as President, 1885-1889.

in 1887, Albert Michelson and Edward Morley carried out a simple experiment that showed there is æther and non-moving Earth

in 1888, George Eastman released for sale the first consumer camera "Kodak"

---Freedom, if occasionally there is any, generally wears a crown.

From Mr. McNair Wilson's foreword to his *Monarchy or Money Power*:

The philosophy of the Nineteenth Century was the philosophy of inducement, expressed in a gain-system which extended throughout the world and which was based on the belief that the weak must yield place to the strong, the unfit to the fit.

The fruits of this philosophy are now, everywhere, before us. The world today, in common knowledge, is richer in goods than at any earlier period; it is so over-crowded with paupers that the spectacle of their miseries lies like a blight on every man's heart. The idea of a Republic or Commonwealth seems to be wholly incompatible with any of those liberal ideals which are supposed to be brought nearer to realization by Republics.

It is a matter which necessarily provokes surprise that, in circumstances of such superabundance, economy, as we are assured daily, should be necessary in every country, and that in a world flushed with good things the spectacle should be presented of starving families being bombed out of their hovels with tear-gas, of cuts being effected in the wages of workers, and of drastic curtailment in systems of health and education being demanded.

Famine was all too frequent during the Middle Ages, but it is not recorded that, under the feudal system, men starved among plenty or willfully destroyed their handiwork.

It cannot, I think, escape observation that the gain-system is contemporary with the system of [Parliamentary government](#). Greed replaces service as the basis of action and of thought, and [Money](#) is soon [enthroned](#).

INTRODUCTION.

About four years ago [1881], David Reeves Smith, the author of a book entitled *Ownership and Sovereignty*, honored me with the request that I would use my experience, as a student of literature, to aid him in condensing his work and shaping it for publication.

At that time, I had given no special attention to the subject of political economy. In fact, I was prejudiced against what had been called "the dismal science," which seemed to me to have no head or centre, and to have arrived, withal, at a sort of practical atheism and logical inhumanity. Mr. Smith insisted that he had straightened out the whole tangle to which I objected — that he had analyzed it until he had made the one ultimate generalization, and found the one fundamental principle, underlying the entire realm of economics.

The claim was a large one. But I soon discovered in the claimant a power of analysis, a capacity of construction, and a general scope of intellect such as few men have ever possessed. Let me note one example in a single direction.

I had given much of my own life to the unfashionable study of metaphysics —which is not the hopeless muddle that present materialism supposes, but which men like Sir William Hamilton and Dr. Mansel, not to say Auguste Comte,^{\$} have left as a seeming abyss of contradictions and futilities, only by their own failure to grasp the thought of two Germans, Kant and Hegel. On this thin crust, as one man at least, Dr. Stirling, has shown, stands the whole cob-house of present "scientific skepticism," which is pretty nearly as superficial and unsatisfactory as political economy was before Henry George wrote his *Progress and Poverty*, and David Reeves Smith wrote his *Ownership and Sovereignty*.

But my point, just here, is this: On becoming acquainted with Mr. Smith, I found that, while he had made no study of the history of philosophy, and was very slightly informed in the technicalities of any philosophical system, he had, unaided and without effort, thought through the entire subject, from John Locke to Herbert Spencer. He knew, in substance all even of philosophy that England, France, and America could teach, having picked it up wild by the way-side. Only the resolution of matter and motion, time and space, into the elemental entity which constitutes them —only Kant's "Deduction of the Categories," and Hegel's "Logic" had escaped this omnivorous thinker, though he had spent his years in constructing railroads and inventing machinery, with now and then some such diversion as tipping over the government of a South American dictator who happened to stand in the way of his business projects.

This man, too, had been familiar with the success of great undertakings, and equally familiar with the obstacles to all grand achievements. He had

\$ a criminal subversive; made satanism fashionable

known what it is to be rich —the pet of millionaires and populace; and he had known what it is to be poor, and to sympathize with men, women, and little children who work too hard that others may not work at all, and who have too little to eat, to wear, and to keep them warm.

The author of *Ownership and Sovereignty* indeed, was a person of almost universal insight and experience. So, without a cordial liking for his subject, I was drawn to him and his book, partly to see what such a man would make of such thing.

I consider that occasion one of the most fortunate of my life, so far, at least, as I have lived for the "pursuit of knowledge."

To edit *Ownership and Sovereignty* was necessarily to study it; and to study it thoroughly was to see that the author had really accomplished what he assumed. But his achievement was in the form of unrelieved statement and definition. His sentences were almost as concrete as cog-wheels, and his whole book was like a piece of machinery. Besides, it stood isolated. No connection with other systems was shown in it. No historical stairs were built, leading up to it. And he had arranged to publish only a limited edition, for special circulation. My friend's book will ultimately be read, perhaps, when mine will have shrunk into a commentary; but, for the general reader of the present day, it seemed necessary to take the one great inclusive principle of *Ownership and Sovereignty* and to re-dress, re-arrange, and elaborate it, from beginning to end. This I have done, in my own way.

Political economy, fully stated, is the science of man's dependence on matter for his earthly existence. This dependence is his natural and inevitable condition —a condition fixed in the framework of the universe, and so is one of the corner-stones of that which is— the Absolute. But if man comes into the world dependent on matter —made so in the general work of God,— then he has a natural and inalienable right in that dependency. It is a right implied and given in his life itself —a natural birthright. In other words, if he has the right to live on Earth at all, he has the right to share in that on which all earthly life depends —the bounty of nature, matter, property.

Without looking for help to any preceding investigations, Mr. Smith seems to have reached the principle of ownership by a direct, persistent analysis of the word, property. He went at it as Socrates took the words valor and justice, and generalized all specialties into a universal head. It is easy to follow him now —as easy as it was to follow Columbus with his egg, after he had once set it on end.

Here and there is property. But property of whom ? And how came it such ? Well, somebody's progenitors seized it, or it was obtained under certain customs and laws. But seizure is not title. And whence the customs and laws ? Customs and laws presuppose some reason, some ultimate principle, underlying and including them.

What, again, then, is property ? Let us see. It is something held and used for the benefit of the holder. So the use of property, evidently, is the utilization of it for human benefit. But exactly wherein is the full, definite right

of man to utilize any thing for his own benefit ? Why, that right begins, of necessity, in his very relation to the planet on which he is placed. He *must* partake of it, or he himself is *not*. Natural ownership, therefore, is vested in this necessity, fundamental and common to mankind on Earth; and all conventional or legal ownership is subject to natural ownership.

That no one ever reasoned thus until the last quarter of our nineteenth century, it would not be quite safe to say. But, prior to David Reeves Smith, I know of no mind, in all history, penetrating and rigid enough in the study of economics to have made the exhaustive statement I now quote:

"The unconscious elements of the universe exist solely and exclusively for the use and benefit of the conscious. This natural, necessary, and indisputable relation —the natural right of the conscious to use or to utilize the unconscious— is the relation of ownership.

"The unconscious element of the universe is wealth, of which the conscious element is the owner. Wealth, having an owner, is property —the property of the owner. The unconscious, in whatever form or mode, all of it, each and every part of it, is the property of the conscious.

"The common ownership, by all the conscious, of all the unconscious, necessarily existing in the nature of things, is an indefeasible, inalienable, natural right, irrevocable and unchangeable while the conscious and the unconscious continue to coexist."

But, continues Mr. Smith:

"It being impossible for all common property to be used in common, distribution becomes necessary, and therefore right; and individuals, thereby acquiring the right to use and utilize the parts allotted to them, become the owners of such parts. Thus individual ownership is established, without in the least impairing or invalidating the pre-existing and co-existing common ownership. All things at any time owned by individuals, as private property, are, and necessarily must be, common property."

Mr. Smith's analysis of ownership having once been made, the world has no possible answer to it save brute force. The announcement of the law is the establishment of it. Its existence is a discovery, not an opinion. Like the law of gravitation, it is a fiat of the cosmos. To have clearly and completely discovered the higher law of property may some day be accounted the most far-reaching feat of our present age. But more remarkable, to me, than even the analytic insight required for such a task, is the synthetic, constructive genius which enabled Mr. Smith to convert his great general law of absolute ethics into the practical results of mathematics, thus showing how to reach and realize, for every individual, the exact value of his birthright in the common estate. Still, in this direction, too, there was but one line to follow; for only one line had God laid out.

If he had created Earth as the common patrimony of mankind, then every generation of its inhabitants must own it. The general term of ownership, consequently, must be the average span of human life. Do statistics, in modern civilized countries, place this span at fifty years ? If so, the territory of those countries should revert from one generation to another, every half-century. But how make the value of this reversion constant, perpetual, and equal to all, yet disturb no individual right in distributed property ?

Beyond all doubt, mistake, or inadequacy, Mr. Smith has answered this momentous question. I will summarize the answer, at the expense of some repetition later, as the rest of my introduction would not be clear without it.

If matter, property, the assets of Earth, revert to the common ownership of its people every fifty years, then one fiftieth of the general value reverts to them in one year. Hence, the annual right of all people in all property is just two per cent. of its value. Or, a yearly tax of two per cent. *ad valorem* on all assets is the precise collection due mankind, by virtue of their birthright in the common estate of material existence.

Mr. Smith has named this birth-right and death-rate tax "Natural Rent,"—the natural rent, under the higher law of property, due mankind yearly for the use of their estate, from individual sub-owners holding special distributions of it.

I see with certainty that the discovery and announcement here described is the great generalization, thought-form, or category, around which the social organisms of this world are destined, for a long future, to revolve, and to aggregate themselves. A hundred years from to-day, this statement will be comprehended and appreciated.^{\$}

But I must now content myself, in these preliminary remarks, with the special illustration of one point, very important to the general mind, as confirmation of what I have said.

One demonstration that the higher law of property is the complete, the absolute foundation of economics, is this: it includes and justifies every previous finding of political science, so far as the finding is a fact, and renders unnecessary every scheme that is partial, unbalanced, and dangerous.

Let me take, at once, the latest and largest field of illustration in this province, although at the expense, once more, of some virtual repetition farther on, for which I do not apologize only because I do not see how to avoid it.

I suppose that what may be termed the "consensus of the competent," in Europe and America, has decided clearly enough that Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* is the most searching and vigorous contribution to political economy that has been made during the present epoch.¹

But what is the gist of *Progress and Poverty*? It is the claim that land is, of right, common property; the historical proof that it was such under the laws of all ancient nations; and the scientific showing that, as the surface of Earth derives its chief value from the mere presence of population, no one

^{\$} Flight of fancy on steroid, and then some. It is now more than a hundred years later, and not one in a million knows you even existed—much less comprehend, or subscribe to, the idea that users of material should pay 2% tax(royalty) a year to the rest of the population. You would be horrified to learn that your worst nightmare became reality in a hundred years.

¹ George and his *Progress* also disappeared from memory. Not as much as you, who never was well-known, or even known, but hardly anyone knows his name or reads his book.

man should be allowed to absorb from it the wealth which his neighbors mostly give to it.

Now, is there any possibility that the human intellect can overthrow these positions taken by Mr. George ?

Never. His book is an impregnable fortress in that respect, and he has surrounded his theory with about all the knowledge pertaining to it there is in the world. He is so exhaustive in his facts as to break the very back of denial with the load of his luggage.

Still, Henry **George**, though unassailable in his data, and right in his theory as far as it goes, is **entirely wrong** in the outcome of his work, simply because his theory does not go far enough —is not the ultimate generalization of the principle of ownership. Reasoning from a premise incomplete, his conclusion is narrow, partial, and **destructive**. When he would substantially confiscate land, by making it bear the whole burden of taxation, he would rob good faith and honest toil, just as surely as if he should take a farmer's coat from his back, or the watch out of his pocket.

But THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY, the moment it is understood, is seen to include and put in place all the beneficence and utility of Henry George, and to disperse every one of his errors and limitations.

Abstractly, indeed, —and I am obliged to say blindly,— Mr. George makes the same general claim for mankind in the natural right of ownership, that is made concretely, practically, and in full light, by the author of *Ownership and Sovereignty*. For Mr. George holds that all men have an equal right to "land:" —this is the whole premise and foundation of his work. And he explicitly defines "land" as "not merely the surface of Earth, but the whole material universe outside of man himself." But is not this the same thing as saying that matter is the natural estate of mind —that the conscious owns the unconscious ? Certainly it is. And if Henry George had only stuck to his own largest definition of land (though a very bad one) I am not sure but he might have completed the science of political economy.

Still, the definition itself shows mental confusion, and is a usurpation in philology. For there had been an immeasurably better definition in existence, a perfect one in fact, for twenty-two hundred years, when Mr. George sat down to write. In its application to economics, as to many other subjects, Mr. George's "whole material universe outside of man" had been defined by Aristotle. He had called it "the bounty of nature." What an inexact cripple is the word, "land," when it is forced to convey the same meaning !

But having once defined "land" as synonymous with "the bounty of nature," Henry George throws away the definition for all further and practical purposes. When he comes to tax land, he means the actual acres of the Earth's surface, just as every one else means. And this land he would tax to the verge of confiscation.

Here is his radical error, the fatal weakness in his logic. For even total confiscation and re-distribution of "land," in the ordinary (and correct) sense, would not restore to mankind equal access to "the bounty of nature." This

bounty of nature, in the forms of timber, stone, iron, and what not, has been taken out of land for thousands of years, and transmuted into every thing that man has wrought. Still it is the bounty of nature (and it is "land," in Henry George's larger sense), only it has been mixed with labor.

But why should not the land that has come out of land —the *transmuted* bounty of nature — be recovered to the people, as well as the raw material ? Why stop at half the birth right ? The halt leaves Mr. George in a most remarkable and indefensible position. As I have said elsewhere, "he would not tax a palace, but the plot under it. He would not tax a line of steamships, but their wharf. He would not tax a lump of gold, but the hole in the ground out of which it was dug."

And he gives what he considers a reason for this line of distinctions. It is this: Inasmuch as a man owns himself, he must own the product of his labor. If, at this point, Mr. George had said, not the *product* but the *value* of labor, he would have been again on the track to complete the science of political economy. It is certainly true that a man owns the value of his work. So far as it comes wholly out of himself, who else can rightfully claim it ? But the product of his work is a very different thing.

For every product arising from the hand of man is a combination. It is in part the bounty of nature (Henry George's "land"); in part, the result of labor. The bounty of nature is the objective base of every possible fabric; and this base, as Mr. George has spent years of thinking to prove, is *inalienable common property*. Hence, according to his own theory and demonstration, if logically followed out, all a man can possibly do in production is to place the stamp of his labor, as a seal of value, on some ground belonging to society. But, when Henry George finished his "Progress and Poverty," he was unable to see how the value of labor can be separated from the base of its product — one to be taxed, the other not. So he chose to ride one horn of a dilemma, in stead of to break both horns by solving a problem. And on what a horn of what a dilemma he takes his ride ! To prevent labor from being robbed by monopoly in raw land, this benevolent reformer would permit labor to monopolize all the transmuted land of all the ages, and then to put the entire budget of its taxes on the other monopoly.

Happily such a course is unnecessary, impracticable, and impossible. The higher law of property instantly removes all the difficulty in which Henry George became involved.

The value of a man's labor cannot be directly separated from the base of the product it works up. Yet the man who improves any piece of the crude bounty of nature can turn it over to society by selling it, and receive from society, in purchasing any other product, an exact equivalent for his own labor, in the labor of some one else. This is the result of all true exchanges, and is really just what everybody wants.

So an adequate uniform tax on all wealth —a tax used or re-distributed for the common benefit— reaches the same end that would be reached (if the thing could be done at all in that way) by separating the value of labor in

every piece of human handiwork from the bounty of nature composing its base, and then taxing the base alone as common property.

Right here, then, we return from the inadequacy of Mr. George to the full light of the higher law of ownership. Mankind, as a whole, own all the wealth of Earth they inhabit, natural or fabricated. But any individual may command and control, consume or bequeath any piece of that wealth, exactly in accordance with his true and just purchasing power—which means the precise value of his work, his skill, his ability. But he who wishes to sequester for himself any part of the general estate, whether it may have been improved by himself or another, must pay for the use of the people's share of value inseparably bound up in it. That share, as we have ascertained, is a rent or tax, fixed on the natural reversion of all the earth to its sovereign owner, — each generation of mankind, according to their average death-rate.

And now, on completing the introduction to this essay, I wish to impress upon the mind of the reader, with all the emphasis possible to human language, that what I have termed the *principle of ownership*, or THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY, does not rest for its validity on any man's judgment, advocacy, or opposition. It is not a waif of theory. It is a **fixture of the Absolute**, imbedded in the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSE. In other words, it is one of the structural relations between mind and matter, and so is just as actual as mind and matter themselves, or as time and space. But in the evolution of our world, this great fundamental law, like all other basic laws of the cosmos, has come clearly to human view only through a form of individual consciousness specially fitted to find it. The time for it has arrived, and it is here.

When Immanuel Kant had finished his "Critique of Pure Reason," which he should have named, also, the "Solution of Matter," —the most profound piece of analysis ever achieved on Earth,— he said of it: "The danger, in this case, is not that of being refuted, but of being misunderstood." In regard to the higher law of property, there is certainly no danger of being refuted, and I fancy there is not much danger of being misunderstood. The law is really too simple —is self-evident, in fact, as soon as it is once taken completely into comprehension. Besides, it is too much needed to settle a wild sea of stormy doubts and lowering questions that will soon engulf Europe and America in general revolution, unless justice be done to the masses of men.

In the last chapter of this bit of earnest and conservative writing, I have given the statement of present statistics, that half a dozen grasping individuals own or control one-fiftieth of the assets of the United States, while the producing masses of American workmen support their families, as an average, on less than eighty-five cents a day. Let the great monopolies, which have engendered and legalized this state of things, give their screws a few more turns, and I would not insure American property at a premium of fifty cents on the dollar. Nor would I insure some American lives at ninety cents on the dollar.¹

1 How you mis-understand revolutions ! No revolution you know took place as a spontaneous uprising of the oppressed masses ! Spontaneous uprisings fare as Shay's

But all the great occidental civilizations of our time are rushing toward a common crack of doom, like France before her first Revolution, while the rich and the poor, the priests and the politicians, are alike too ignorant and careless to see the cause or suggest the remedy.

In all history there has been but one nation born with the record, that has outlived it. I know not whether it was fifty or a hundred centuries ago, but some powerful ruler once lived in China, who possessed that phenomenon, so unusual, especially among rulers, a long and level head. He perceived that a government, to endure, must so build its institutions that all its subjects can have sufficient food, clothing, and shelter to sustain life, if nothing more. He perceived, also, that the bold, intelligent, and persistent spirits of a realm, must be afforded outlets for peaceful activity and honor, or else must be allowed to seize, for themselves, outlets of rebellion and destruction. So he organized the legislation of China to compass such ends. For the priest a place was made in the church. For every natural scholar a door was opened into some department of the "civil service." For an applicant of sufficient nerve and endurance, another door opened into the army. So, on, through the various grades of superior endowment. And then it was arranged that the naturally unintelligent and unambitious masses —the useful but non-assertive "Bantams" and "Shanghais" should be guaranteed a plenty of hard and constant work, for which they might always get a little rice and water, a clout and a mat, and a hut in which to sleep off their fatigue.

The wisdom of that ancient son of the Sun, elaborated in weary detail throughout the laws and customs of an empire, has handed down that empire, such as it is, from time immemorial to date. But will the system of China do for the land of Thomas Jefferson and John Brown^{\$}?

And what if Americans are approaching Chinese poverty, under a government of no system securing to them even a clout, a hut, and a mat, with a bit of rice and a drink of water? To that end the facts point. Machinery has almost superseded labor. Private monopolies are rapidly fencing in the land and the water. Meanwhile, out of every old jumble of politics and economics some parrot is jabbering about the universal and resistless law of supply and demand.

Grim arguments, too, are rising on the other side. Now and then a few ounces of dynamite get mixed with them, and they explode. But, so far, they are mostly theoretical, and look to various reforms, some of which are certainly important, as far as they go. But no number of special poultices and plasters will ever cure the body politic. A general remedy to change the blood

rebellion fared. A dozen robber barons owning 2% of the assets of the United States is nothing —soon they will own 20% and 50%, and nothing spontaneous will happen. The revolutions that did take place in Europe 30 years from now, were not uprisings of the masses (oppressed or not), but the works of criminal organizations, and resulted in more oppression than ever before —not to mention the slaughter of millions in the revolutionary process.

\$ Don't mention Thomas Jefferson and mad-psycho Brown in the same sentence —much less equate them !

—to make over the whole system— must soon be taken, or the patient will rot with cancer, as Rome¹ did, and will die.

One able and earnest man has become distinguished in our day, by the attempt to discover and prescribe such a great general remedy. That doctor of economics is Henry George. He is my personal friend. But his medicine, as I have shown, contains only in part the ingredients necessary to make it effectual. While it would cleanse and strengthen some of the social functions, it would deplete and poison others. Or, to drop metaphor, the common ownership of land —the confiscation of merely the raw bounty of nature in the interest of mankind— would injure some people quite as much as it would benefit others. Besides, it would be superficial, unnecessary, and morally wrong. It would be simply a vast monopoly of the manufacturer and the wage-worker against the farmer.

But THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY, announced in this book, is subject to no such objection. It includes every inch of ground covered by Henry George. It is a deed of conveyance to the people of all the untransmuted land in the world; but it conveys to them, also, their exact natural right in all the transmuted land which they have erected on top of the other. It robs neither labor nor capital, but puts a precisely equal burden on both. It is the "golden rule" carried into political economy. It is the democracy of Jefferson, waiving all "glittering generalities," and coming straight down to business.

Had I myself discovered this law, and devised the application of it, I should be as proud of my result as of any piece of finite work that I recall from any epoch. I can make no claim to such an honor. I have merely perceived the greatness of an other's work, and aided him in unfolding it. But I have taken the advice of Emerson, and hitched my "wagon to a star." The true, the universal, the absolute principle of ownership is at once the most portentous and blessed luminary that for many an age has crossed Earth's orbit.

Chapter I.

THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY STATED AS SCIENCE AND ETHICS.

Political economy, in its latest results, has found the principle of property to be a very simple one—a law graven directly in the structure of the universe, and thus derived immediately from the Absolute; or, if we prefer the language of religion, we may say commanded of God.

All nature—the cosmos—exists in some degree and variety of two forms: the conscious, including sentiency, and the unconscious, or what we ordinarily comprise in matter. But matter—the unknowing, the imperceptive, the unliving—has no object, no existence for itself: it exists for the living, the perceptive, the knowing, which alone has the functions to utilize it. So *matter is created in the relation of property: it is the estate and the birthright of the conscious*. Under this universal and fundamental law,—this constitution of the Absolute,—man, standing at the head of consciousness and sentiency on his own planet, is the natural proprietor, the necessary administrator of Earth. He owns it while he lives on it. Being put upon it, he was sent to occupy it. His life consists in possessing it.

But, for the reason that the title of the conscious to the unconscious vests directly in the structure of the Absolute—the relation of all mind to all matter,—the possession is joint and common. No one man has the holding. The birthright of every human being is his equal share.

In this ultimate analysis of property, reaching what Kant would term a "category"—one of those complete generalizations beyond which there is nothing to say,—we can readily see why the question of ownership has never been seriously considered by any of the world's astute thinkers, from Aristotle to John Stuart Mill, without the cognition, more or less distinct, that what the author of "Economics" called "the bounty of nature," must necessarily be the general possession of each generation that comes to inhabit Earth. Practically, indeed, as well as logically, there is no other ground on which to stand. For, if man's possession of Earth were not a common right, the occupation and monopoly of one man could, by simple exclusion, destroy another man's life; and the continuance of such exclusion and destruction would leave neither life nor title in anybody. And such has been the precise historical fact through all the "good old times" of rapine and murder, of which our present forms of government, with their legal codes, are the odds and ends.

But, in this indefeasible right of mankind to equality of access to the bounty of nature, no question arises concerning the equality of human beings in their individual composition. There is no occasion for some acrid, impatient Carlyle to draw the contrast between Judas Iscariot and Jesus Christ, and ask if one is to be held equal to the other. Who supposes that, when Thomas Jefferson sat down to draft the Declaration of American Independence, he would have admitted, for an instant, that George the Third was equal in understanding to Benjamin Franklin, or equal in kingliness of soul to George Washington? We may even assert, if we please, with the almost startling

frankness of a recent writer, that "some men are undoubtedly inferior to some dogs in nobility of character." As widely as men differ in character, quite as widely do they differ in ability. And with the power to do must always be joined the right to have. As, in the structure of the universe all mankind are equal in the title to a joint share of the world they are born to occupy, so, under the same conformation of the Absolute, no two men are equal in the capacity to occupy the world and utilize their birthright, —the capacity, that is, to acquire, save, and employ wealth. It is not to be doubted that some men are born to be rich, and some poor. Some are laborious, intelligent, and thrifty; others are lazy, improvident and reckless. These two classes can not share alike, and no just or reasonable condition of society can ever enable them to share alike, in the wealth that the one creates and the other does not. They can only be afforded *equal opportunities at the start*, and thus each be made strictly and directly responsible for all further differences and consequences.

That no two persons in the world are exactly equal in special endowments is something that sanity, not to say common-sense, never doubts. Nevertheless, all persons in the world are precisely equal in the general relations of man to his environment. All are equal in the necessity of birth and death; equal in their dependence on matter to sustain earthly life; equal in the right to live, each according to his individuality, without suppressing or destroying the individuality of others. But human beings cannot be equal even in the bare, natural right to live, without natural equality of access to the common means of all human existence.

By these presents, therefore, —the construction of the universe and the will of God,— be it known that mankind jointly hold the original, indefeasible title-deed to all the kingdoms of the world.

Thus it is the whole human race who constitute the owner, and the only sovereign-owner, of the globe; and it is the people of any country who constitute the owner, and the only sovereign-owner, of that country. The original landlord —the landlord by divine right— is mankind.

But now the question arises: What is the law which commands this sovereign himself —this landlord of all wealth— in utilizing his estate ? But this means simply: How shall he dispose of his numerous and varied holdings to the best advantage ? How shall he draw from his wealth the largest income for himself —that is, for the common good ?

Here is the question of the distribution of wealth according to the natural, the divine, and absolute law of its ownership. And the question has been answered. The answer, moreover, is so simple, so clear, so just, that, when once announced, it establishes itself like a command of the decalogue or a demonstration of geometry.

To begin with, the people, as a whole, stand in precisely the same relation to their inheritance as that in which any owner of extensive and varied wealth stands to his property. They can make their estate profitable only by dividing it up and putting it in possession of those competent to handle it —

that is, in the hands of those who want it and are able to pay the best price for the use of it. In other words, the whole question of the rightful distribution of a people's property resolves itself into one word, rent — "*natural rent*."

But how can the vast common estate of the people —say the people of the United States— be put to rent in the interest of its real owner ? And what is the proper rent to be collected¹ ?

This question is rather new, and no less strange. Yet it is quite easy to translate our principle of philosophy, of religion, of ethics, into the results of mathematics. The people own Earth —own it while they live on it,— each generation while they possess it. But the people die. Turning to the tables of statistics, we find that two in every hundred die yearly. Now, if such is the case, two per cent. of a country's wealth falls back annually into the common estate. If, at the death of every citizen who now passes away from Earth, his effects should be seized by their sovereign owner, it would take just fifty years for the reversion of present individual property to the general store. But this direct reversion is not the thing wanted; for the whole property would only have to be again distributed into individual hands, in order to make it yield its full value to any one.

If we consider the matter a moment, however, we perceive that the table of human mortality —the average death-rate— fixes the precise annual share of the people in all property. If the wealth of Earth reverts from one generation to another every fifty years, then one fiftieth, or just two per cent., reverts in one year. Thus the interest of the estate —what must be termed the "*natural rent*" of it— is exactly two per cent. *ad valorem*. The share of the sovereign owner, therefore, may be simply levied and collected in the form of a tax.

The general principle here announced has come into the world to stay. It is one of those truths which, once discovered, taunts us with blindness that we have not always seen it. It is self-evident —that is, it has be-come a necessary birth in the evolution of reason and nature on this planet

And in an epoch, not only of the omnipresent newspaper, but of the telegraph and telephone as well, how much has been done toward the next revolution in government, the next regeneration of society, when the fundamental law of the movement has been fully determined ! Behold the law and consider. It necessitates an addition to our American Declaration of Independence. All men are "*created equal*" —they are "*endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty*" and PROPERTY.

It should be understood, however, that not in itself, not necessarily or even excusably, is there any danger, any strife or violence, in this next inevitable step of social and governmental progress. It is no wild claim of one-eyed communism. It is no weak theory of well-meaning but impracticable socialism. For it takes strictly into account all the qualities, good and bad, of human nature. It does not expect to eradicate selfishness and greed, or to level organic differences and their unavoidable associations and sequences. It

purposes only to employ these facts and factors of actual existence in such a way that they shall serve society, as a whole, quite as much as they now assist any individual member of it at the expense of the other members. The use of lightning was once supposed to be the shattering of trees and houses, and the flashing of wrath from the gods. We bottle it now and send it round the globe on errands.

Under the law of perfect justice, —THE LAW OF THE ABSOLUTE, establishing the common ownership of all wealth by all mankind,— anybody and everybody may hold property, may buy and sell, own and bequeath it, precisely as they do under the present laws and customs of force, monopoly, and chicanery. But the possessors will have to pay *the natural rent* of it; and, so long as this rent is paid, it will be of no consequence who holds the property. It may descend from father to son, their "heirs and assigns forever." But it will be sure, in the end, to lapse into the hands of those most capable of sustaining and increasing it.¹

Then, at last, the nations will comprehend the true use of their **Rothschilds**, their **Astors** and **Vanderbilts**. The executive giants or the accretive maniacs may possess the land and the sea, if they can and wish. The more they do for themselves, the better for their sovereign landlord, the whole people. Individual capacity and individual selfishness will be one with the public weal.

In the present epoch of political larceny, legal pillage, industrial contention, and general brutality in all the economic relations of life —a state of things plainly discerned and keenly felt by every alert spirit,— plans enough are proposed on all sides for a just and bearable distribution of the world's earnings. But these plans are mostly the circumscribed eruptions of special uneasiness, and have no foundation but opinion, or some temporary antagonism. The most specious and comprehensive of them, perhaps, is the proposition to impose a graduated tax on incomes: to the end that no individual, under any circumstances, can accumulate property beyond a pre-arranged limit. Yet, where is the right, in nature or precedent, to take such a course or to fix such a limit? To tax a man's income is to put him under penalty for the superiority of his business talents and the active use of them. It is to discourage and dwarf the commendable faculty of accumulation. But, to tax his assets, is to push him to the utmost employment of that faculty, the benefits of which are shared by all society.

The world has no time for economic whims, guesses, and approximations. What is the definitive right of individual ownership, and what the definitive right of society, in the accumulated wealth of to-day? That is the question to be answered, before the moral sense or courage of mankind can be invoked to do any thing that will save modern civilization from impending wreck.

1 As we speak (21st century), it is lapsing into the hands of those who are most capable of acquiring and sustaining it —that is why half of Earth's asset value is now in the hands of those capable few, and is alienated from the mass of the population.

Well, individual ownership is entitled to just what it has got hold of, under the consent of nations and peoples groping in darkness, and knowing no better than to do and permit what has been done. There is no need of making any noise or trouble over the past. Let yesterday go bury itself. But to-day we live under a new dispensation —THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY. It is the eleventh commandment —without which the other ten will have small opportunity of fulfilment.

Thus saith the Lord:—

Thou shalt take for all my people, each year, two parts in every hundred of whatsoever value there be on the face of Earth. That portion did I make for my people in the beginning, and I have established it unto them forever for their common good. But whatsoever value remaineth, let that be with him who hath it. For him did I make and establish that portion.

And thou shalt do no man injury to his goods who cometh under this law. But for him who rejecteth it let there be no peace. He shall be an offence unto mine eyes, and a stumbling-block before the feet of them that keep my commandments.

Chapter II.

THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY, AS ILLUSTRATED AND DEMONSTRATED BY THE FACTS OF HISTORY.

The principle of property, then, —the higher law on which it rests,— is this:

First. The conscious in nature owns the unconscious. Matter is created as the necessary, natural, and inalienable possession of mind. Thus the inhabitants of Earth jointly own its material resources, and the people of any country are the sovereign owner of that country's wealth. But

Second. This wealth must be sub-possessed by individual owners — must be divided up and held according to ability and industry, in order to be fully utilized, which is the object and end of all matter, of all property. Here are two opposite poles, two contending necessities, of the same thing. We have the principle in its integration, and in its disintegration. But we have

Third. The principle re-integrated in its higher and complete form, which includes and co-ordinates its opposing factors. This co-ordination is effected in what has been explained as "Natural Rent." Thus NATURAL RENT is the solvent in which both the indefeasible rights of society, in regard to property, and the indefeasible rights of individuals, perfectly coalesce. The law is complete.

And here, for a moment, let us turn to history. The laws of the Absolute are always enacted in the facts of life, and the test of their genuineness is their actuality. As remarkable as it may appear to the general ignorance and prejudice of to-day, the tenures of property, in every primitive nation unearthed by modern research, decree the common ownership of a country's natural wealth by the people possessing and defending it.

A familiar illustration, as frequently read as infrequently considered and comprehended, may be found in the Bible, relating to the polity of the Jews, in the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus:

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, in Mount Sinai, saying, the land shall not be sold forever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me. * * * And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family. * * * If a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, within a full year may he redeem it. And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be established forever to him that bought it, throughout his generations; it shall not go out in the jubilee. But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be counted as the fields of the country; they shall be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubilee."

Here we see that, among the ancient Israelites, the general redistribution of property took place every fifty years —the significant span of life allotted to each generation,— by the simple method of prohibiting the alienation of estates from the original families constituting the tribe. Among other primitive tribes and nations, the same result was reached by direct periodical redivision.

All who stood as members of the community, —what we now designate as citizens— were thus placed, with each generation, upon a substantial equality of wealth, or rather of natural opportunities to acquire it.^{\$}

In those early days, of course, the property of a people consisted mainly of agricultural lands and of flocks and herds. So the redistribution of land was virtually the re-distribution of wealth in general. The exception, under the Mosaic laws, of habitations in walled cities, was of no consequence. To those walled cities the people retired rather for safety in case of war, and to protect such of their possessions as could be gathered behind fortifications, than for any regular purposes of accumulation or subsistence.¹

Of late much careful and critical research has been devoted to the habits, the laws, and customs of the earliest historic peoples. Sir Henry Maine, Tylor, Emile de Laveleye, Professor Nasse of Bonn, and other eminent scholars, have certainly covered sufficient ground to render their conclusions certain. In his "Primitive Property," M. de Laveleye asserts, as the result of his own world-wide investigations, that,

"in all primitive societies, the soil was the joint property of the tribes, and was subject to periodical re-distribution among all the families, so that all might live by their labor as nature has ordained. The comfort of each was thus proportioned to his energy and intelligence: no one, at any rate, was destitute of the means of subsistence; and inequality increasing from generation to generation was provided against."

In reference to the Teutonic nations, the same exhaustive authority tells us that "freedom, and, as a consequence, the ownership of an undivided share of the common property, to which the head of every family in the clan was equally entitled, were in the German village essential rights."

In summing up this matter, still another well-known authority affirms that "wherever we can trace the early history of society, whether in Asia, in Africa, in America, or in Polynesia, land has been considered as common property, in which the rights of all who had admitted rights were equal." "This primitive adjustment," continues the historian, "still exists in more or less intact form, in the village communities of India, Russia, and the Slavonic countries not yet, or not until recently, subjected to Turkish rule; in the mountain cantons of Switzerland; among the Kabyles in the north of Africa and the Kaffirs in the south; among the native population of Java and the aborigines of New Zealand; —that is to say, wherever extraneous influences have left intact the primitive form of social organization."^{\$}

\$ a) what happened to the hook-nosed aristocrats of London & Frankfurt ? —oh, they came later, in 1893.

b) jubilee, or something similar, can only take place in a theocracy, not in democracy mob-rule, not under Cleveland's bought-and-paid-for Presidency

1 People had a plot to live on, to live off —without rent, taxes. If they worked, they ate; if not, they didn't; but no one chased them off —they were not tramps, homeless, vagrants, vagabonds; they were not indentured to landlords and governments.

\$ But, then, came the hook-nosed aristocrats and educated the people as to how to live under their civilized system.

Yes, at the sunrise of history, [before hebrews were unleashed upon Earth] the evident and necessary principle, that men stand equal in the fundamental right of access to material nature, was clearly recognized and established. But, at the same time, we are not to forget that the sunrise of history was also the dawn of civilization¹ —the first light of a new day rising from a night of chaotic savagery. Society was only organized in families and tribes, or, a little later, in nations growing out of families and tribes; and no one nation recognized the right of another to any thing whatever that the stronger could take. Each regarded itself as the structure of a "sacred" or "chosen" people, under the special government and favor of heaven; and all other nations as under the domination of false gods, or devils, the children and worshippers of which were proper food for war and spoil. So, while certain essential rights of man were perceived and asserted, every separate people denied them for all but themselves.

Then commenced, through battle and pillage, the assimilation of nations and races. The powerful conquered the weaker, and extinguished or absorbed them; and the absorbed generally lost all rights whatever; they were merely granted the privilege to live, and to serve their foes as slaves. It is the same old story —India, Egypt, China; Chaldea, Persia, and Palestine; the Medes, the Syrians, the Phoenicians; Arabia, Tartary, and Thibet,— the same old story, with some variations of circumstance and enlightenment. The main divisions of Asia and the most prominent parts of the African sea-coast settled finally into something like acquaintance with each other, and respect for territorial limits. And, during lulls in war, trade arose. Then Rome lifted her head on the Seven Hills, and waved her sword until the whole known world bowed under her triumphal yoke.

Rome² was the mother of human affiliation, as she was afterward the foster-mother of human brotherhood. Her birth was a rejection of tribal narrowness and theological snobbery. Pelasgic, Sabine, Etruscan, she was the daughter of amalgamation. Her history is a grand reception, in which she introduced to each other, as her own subjects, all varieties of mankind. And Rome conquered the world simply because she was the best friend the world had.

In her youth, she bore the hereditary marks of preceding barbarism. Her patricians and their clients —composed of the three original tribes— were a new and more generous form of the primeval patriarch and his kinsmen. But her plebeians —her conquered Latins— were incorporated as freemen, so far at least as they had been free when subjugated. She took in the various

1 The city-states lived in a high state of civilization. (What exactly do you mean by "civilization" ? Not the United States, I hope.) But then came this nefarious specierace, and since then war, pillage, plunder is the default setting. So, it appears, the problem is not the lack of knowledge among humans as to how to organize their society and affairs, but the presence of this alien aristocracy.

2 Evil Empire Rome, the product of the international money power of the alien aristocrats. Raised up by the hook-nosed ones, to destroy even the remnants of the city-states and the concept of priest-kings.

peoples as they were, only denying to them, at first, what she considered the high, sacred, yet dangerous powers of citizenship. But this limitation brought internal strife, through which, for five hundred years, she grew wise, strong, and trustful of human nature. Little by little, distinctions of birth and blood passed away, until at the first defeat of Carthage and the closing of the temple of Janus, thirty-five different nations were counted as Roman tribes, standing substantially equal with those of the original three.

And what of Rome in relation to property ? She started with nothing new, nor was it possible to start with any thing new. A walled town for a fortress and storehouse; a dwelling and a piece of ground for each citizen; the common lands of the state—all that the state could conquer and hold;—this, we have seen, was the general condition of every primitive nation. Or, as Henry George puts it, "when the future mistress of the world first looms up, each citizen had his little homestead plot, which was inalienable; and the general domain —'the corn-land that was of public right'— was subject to common use, doubtless under regulations or customs which secured equality, as in the Teutonic mark and Swiss allmend."

The distinctive spirit of early Rome was patriotism. The ambition of her heroes was to achieve honor in the service of the state, and the greed of personal wealth was accounted beneath their dignity. When Cincinnatus was called to save his country, he was found at work on his little farm of less than three acres. Nearly two hundred years later, when the Samnites sent their embassy and their presents to Dentatus, —finding him cooking his own dinner, — what said the haughty soldier who had conquered every foe, and had thrice served as the head of his country ? It was for him "not to possess riches, but to rule the rich" !

It was this spirit that became incorporate in the Licinian laws, which established limits to the occupation of the public domain, stayed the growing encroachments of creditors upon debtors, and prevented the secession of half the population.

But how could a nation that was grasping the world avoid the shadow of her own career ? What should her citizens feed on, when her purpose had been accomplished ? As she became powerful and rich, the spirit of public aggrandizement, which had been the virtue of her leaders, turned inward upon her own vitals. As her generals and statesmen had carved up the world for their mother, so now they carved up the mother for themselves. The patricians and plebeians were no more; for they were one; but out of both combined had sprung the greedy and aristocratic optimates, who coveted both the whole wealth and the whole power of the republic, while their military commanders, as mercenary as themselves, sank to the selling of battles and the bribes of Jugurtha. The Licinian laws were overborne, and became practically obsolete. The great public "corn-lands" were sliced up, and drawn into private property. The rich landlords absorbed the small proprietors, driving them into the army, pushing them to the outskirts of civilization for

new homes, or permitting them to slide down into the rabble of proletarians and bondmen.

It was then that Tiberius Gracchus, looking through Etruria, and seeing the waste plains, the cattle and the slaves of a few monopolist proprietors, where once a population of contented farmers had held their hundreds of blooming fields and blushing vineyards, —it was then that the elder Gracchus saw that Rome must fall, or the lust of wealth among her leaders and rulers must be cut short.

But the "agrarian laws" of the Gracchi were no untried step in advance; they were only the revival of the early Roman constitution, as applied to property. Nearly two centuries and a half had passed since those Licinian rogations of Stolio and Sextius had presented the same agrarian principles, which, after a discussion of nine years, had been established as law. It was law violated, rights trampled out —it was the illegal encroachments of the rich upon the common property of all Roman citizens— which Tiberius Gracchus, advised by Scaevola, the greatest lawyer of his age, attempted to remedy. His statute, limiting the holders of land to three hundred acres and compensating them for improvements, was merely a return to the original custom under which the citizens of all nations had lived for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. And the subsequent plans of the younger Gracchus to relieve the poor by distributions of corn at the lowest possible rates was nothing but an assertion of their right to receive such restitution as the state could afford them for the robbery of their birthright to land, and so of the means to produce corn for themselves.

But "the mother of the Gracchi" lost her sons. The filthy wealth of Rome, without one scruple of manhood left, without one spark of true ambition, murdered the last of her citizens whom her gods had honored with a Roman conscience. Well might the vulgar Opimus pay for the head of the great young Caius its weight in gold; it was the last head in the republic that held the conception of any worth greater than material value.

The Gracchi dead, Rome lived on, and, in the culmination of her destiny, she produced even the vast executive brain of a Julius Caesar. But Cæsar lived for Caesar, not for Rome. The mistress of the world could no longer give birth to godlike men, but only to active and powerful human swine. The royal boar, Mark Antony; his queenly sow, Cleopatra —these were now the the picture of those who led world.

It was "the great estates," said Pliny, that "sent Italy to perdition." When at last Rome counted her population at a hundred and twenty millions, the masses of her freemen, who had no other property to sell, sold their votes; and her legions of soldiers, who owned only their swords, sold what they had to the highest imperial bidder. And underneath the forty millions of such citizens and such soldiers there groped and grovelled eighty millions of slaves.

Thus, when Attila proclaimed himself the "scourge of God," and his Huns swarmed out of Pannonia to toss rotten, shameless Rome into the sloughs of chaos, he had exactly the right conception of the greatest need of his epoch.

The sordid, disgraced, divided empire had become filled with a population like lice and fleas; the more of them that lived the worse for the world.¹

But the old annals are too familiar for repetition. The Hun, the Goth, the Vandal, the Frank—they were all unkempt and unrestrained barbarians; but in their veins was new and hopeful blood. They were freemen. When they worked or fought, they worked or fought for themselves. Their kings were their leaders only because they were competent to lead. Every tribe was a democracy to the core, the Germans consulting even their women in all important matters, as Tacitus has left the record. They suffered no monopolies, no oppression. If freemen at all, they were equals in all natural opportunities, and only not equal, as so created, by reason of different abilities.

They trampled on Rome from end to end. They crushed her out; but they blended with her people. Born of this blending was the system of feudalism.

Feudalism was the settling-down of roving, conquering armies into permanent camps, each army holding its own ground as firmly as possible, but always quite ready to subdue and take in the camps of its neighbors. At the beginning of the eighth century the camp of Charlemagne had taken in nearly all the rest in Europe, and its chief was crowned "Emperor of the West."

As feudalism was the only system of society possible to the times, it was necessarily the best one. It was partial quiet and security after complete uncertainty and destruction. It was rest, under terms imposed by soldiers, for the weary people who had long had no rest under any terms. Some one of those strong soldiers, called king, or prince, or duke, established himself in a country or province, and divided it up among his captains and lieutenants, they holding their counties or estates under tenures of military service to the donor, their chief.

Under such a system—early feudalism—titles to property were necessarily not fixed and permanent, but dependent on the ability of the holder to serve his lord and keep the peace of the people. The barbarian conquerors of Rome,—every tribe of them,—brought into the empire the original Asiatic, the original European and Roman idea, that the land of a country is the common property of its possessors. A king among them was their military and executive head for the maintenance of this right and all other rights. But when these same tribes moved out of their own lands and subjected other countries, this conception of common property in land assumed the form of graduated military regulation. They took the new country in the name of their king, as their common heritage. But, to hold it over another people, it was necessary to portion it up according to the rank and power of those held responsible for its security. So the rights of a whole people became directly

1 For 500 years the empire of Parthia resisted evil Rome, and defended themselves and their ways from the blood-thirsty degenerates, raised up by hook-nosed war-mongers. Attila was kin to these Parthians of the ancient ways; they joined him in the elimination of the armed forces of the empire of blood-lust and greed.

vested in the sovereignty of their chief leader —their "absolute monarch" by necessity, and thus their king by "divine right."

Remembering that in an army every right and every power centres in the general, and remembering also that for a thousand years Europe was nothing but an assemblage of armies attempting to become stationary, —remembering these two points, the chief features of feudalism became perfectly clear and intelligible. We perceive at once, why the most arrogant despots ruled the most pugnacious and incorrigible of freemen, with their hearty consent. We see why the common property, possessed by people who had always so claimed and held it, passed into the ownership of their sovereigns, and was thence distributed, under life tenures, to subordinate commanders made responsible for its safety and prosperity.

But the great thieves of Rome —those who had gradually stolen the common lands of the people and had finally murdered the Gracchi— this class, having at last obtained their way, had sanctified their larcenies by forms of law, and converted the fruits of their unlawful greed into unquestioned hereditary possessions. They had even upset the early history of their country, and blackened the fame of her noblest, wisest sons, in order to confuse the moral sense of mankind. They had succeeded; and the world to-day has not opened its eyes to their frauds, or outgrown their false pretences.

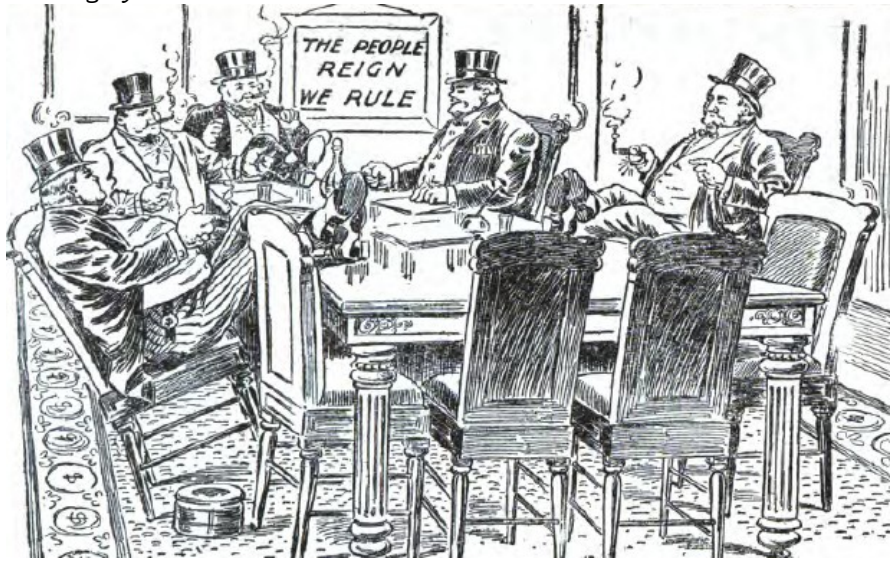
Roman custom and Roman law doubtless had much influence in changing life tenures to property under early feudalism into hereditary titles. But the natural selfishness of mankind was enough in itself to accomplish the result. Given, a monopoly for a day, and no one ever ungripes it until it is wrung out of his hands. Yet it took a thousand years for the new conquerors of Europe to forget the laws and customs of their original homes. They hedged in hereditary ownership of land with wardship, control of female vassals, and countless oaths, forms, and establishments, enforcing public service in compensation for individual possession of what they knew to be the national and common estate. A duke, with the army of his duchy, must stand ever ready to defend his sovereign at need. A count, with the force of his county, must sustain the duke; and the lower vassal must marshal the retainers of his estate to the support of his count. Their services to the nation were the pay for the nation's property which they held.

In the meantime, bodies of freemen combined, under something much like their ancient customs, for agricultural purposes, and other bands of freemen joined together and built up the great towns of commerce and manufacture.

Our present civilization imagines it has outgrown feudalism, and that Cervantes laughed the last dying breath out of its body. It is a great mistake. The soul of it is extinct. The good of it has gone. But its worst features overhang all Europe to-day like a nightmare, and its unburied hand writes the laws of America, in the most vital and practical relations between man and man.

It is true that, as Roman ambition brought the peoples of antiquity to each other's acquaintance under the flash of her subjugating sword, so the

"golden rule" of Jesus, though wrapped in the second-hand clothes of all heathendom, gradually brought the putative followers of Christ to a sense of human equality in their common discipleship. The rise of this conception was the theoretical decline and end of slavery, which the invention of gunpowder,—the greatest single blessing that has been given to the modern world—made speedy and certain. Still, as all men rose to free men, society left behind the very basis of ancient freedom,—the foundation without which all freedom is a ghastly mockery, a grinning farce. The very existence, in fact, of this foundation had been overborne and forgotten. Sovereignty—the right to self—had once been inseparably united with ownership—the right to property. The feudal kings and barons kept the property, and the people took the sovereignty.



For instance, the piratical adventurers who conquered England under William the Norman, received the titles to their lands on consideration of putting sixty thousand horsemen into the field whenever required for the national service, together with numerous fines, dues, and services, the sum of which has been estimated as worth at least half the rental value of the kingdom. But when, with advanced methods of warfare, these "defenders of the soil," in the persons of their descendants, had been reduced to figure-heads and tassels, England abolished her military tenures, while her aristocracy kept the estates for which the costly services of her earls, counts, and knights had been the price. In other words, these cunning, betitled land-monopolists put just so much revenue into their own pockets, by saddling the military establishment of the realm upon the taxes borne by capital and labor. And this change, which has created the vast British war debt—a sum which should have been paid out of the increasing rents of the land,—this glaring imposition upon industry, thrift, and poverty alike, has been celebrated by stupid John Bull, over his pipe of tobacco and mug of heavy beer (both taxed

to help the imposition along), as some wonderful step in the march of modern freedom !

In France, again, the Constituent Assembly of 1789 fancied that the heads of its members were bulging with wisdom, when that body lifted tithes from the lands which had supported the church, and bundled the expense upon general taxes. The Abbe Sieyes explained to them that the land-owners got their very titles in no other way than by paying these tithes, together with various public obligations, out of their rents. He explained, also, that the abolition of tithes was simply a gift to the rich, which must be paid by the poor, from their labor and their savings. But a nation, about ready to dispense with God, naturally looked with suspicion upon a priest, though the best of his order. The Abbe Sieyes was right; but haste, enthusiasm, and ignorance prevailed.

Once again. Notwithstanding the inundation of Europe by feudalism, the ancient customs of mankind asserted themselves to a considerable extent in all the various nations. As already mentioned, bodies of freemen formed communities, settled upon unoccupied lands, and tilled them in common—a system whence sprung the word "commoner" (which Bacon used in its literal significance), and which has handed down to our Yankee Boston the name of its "Common." Of course it was necessary for these "commoners" to purchase the protection of some iron-cased baron, with his stone castle, and to be handsomely blackmailed by him and his retainers, for not being swept away. Still, we are told that "the commons, in feudal ages, embraced a very large proportion of the area of most European countries." Meanwhile, as conditions of peace and permanence were developed, the masses of the people—the peasantry—were hedged in with certain definite rights, like tenancy by custom instead of arbitrary will, and regular rents instead of unmitigated spoliation.

But precisely as the Roman optimates encroached upon the people's common lands, in closing and taking them into enormous private estates, so the later European aristocrats, in spite of impotent royal edicts, and the still more impotent resistance of the people, gradually drew into their own possessions whatever else they coveted. And, as they despoiled the people of their commons, thus turning them into vagrants, they passed the most bloody and brutal laws, branding and maiming the helpless victims of their robberies.

The systematic English enclosures of the commons began nearly four hundred years ago, under the miser-king, Henry the Seventh; and the great extent of them at that time is certain, if only from the fact that more than seven and a half millions of acres were inclosed, under legal enactments, even from 1710 to 1843.

What has been the result ? Let me answer in the indignant, pathetic words of another:

"The English yeoman—the sturdy breed who won Crecy, and Poitiers, and Agincourt—are as extinct as the mastodon. The Scottish clansman, whose right to the soil of his native hills was once as undisputed as that of his chieftain, has been

driven out to make room for the sheep-ranges or deer-parks of that chieftain's descendant; the tribal right of the Irishman has been turned into a tenancy-at-will. Thirty thousand men have legal power to expel the whole population from five-sixths of the British Islands, and the vast majority of the British people have no right whatever to their native land save to walk the streets or trudge the roads."

What a picture ! Think of the unspeakable injustice, the slow suffering, the long murder, the constant death behind it.^{\$} And the sequel may be as sad and terrible !

And now let us glance at America. She is the mixed child of the Old World, and has simply inherited her conceptions of property, without thought and without knowledge. A few remnants of feudal law, like primogeniture, which she imported at the start, have become too ridiculous for use, and have been thrown away. But she has been so busy in asserting personal freedom alone, —the rights of man to the members of his body, the thoughts of his mind, and the dictates of his conscience,— that she has had little time to consider any other fundamental principles of human welfare. Nor has it long been necessary to do so.

The foundations of practical welfare on Earth —land and water for her people,— the means of their subsistence, —these she has had to spare, and to give away. Her chief need has been to find the heads and hands to utilize her vast resources. But of these heads and hands she is now getting full. Her best territory is occupied, —by fences if not by inhabitants; her people begin to crowd each other, though there is no need of it; and, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, large classes are very poor, and are daily becoming poorer. Vast monopolies of all descriptions are concentrating wealth in the hands of the few, while the many are beginning to be considered fortunate if, by hard and constant work, they can earn a scanty living for their bodies, and for their minds and souls no living at all, or worse than none.

Illustration is here unnecessary, and time for it would be wasted. The facts are too glaring for question, as well as too cruel for silence. They utter themselves on every country road, in every street of every city, and in every alley between the streets. In a country new, fertile, inexhaustible; not settled to a tenth of its capacity; with endless invention and mechanism to aid in the gathering of wealth; it is only by close combination in trades-unions, and by bitter struggles in hundreds of ways, that the poor —millions of them— can provide themselves with indifferent food, shelter, and clothing.

It is evident, however, that the American people will never be the contented dupes and slaves of vulgar wealth, —of masters whose intelligence knows nothing better than a dollar, and how to make a show of it. As poverty increases, the spirit of uneasiness, the spirit of resistance, increases with it. Intelligence asks why such wrong should be, and justice declares it shall not be always, nor even too long for wise endurance. It is becoming thoroughly

^{\$} Being heir and successor to evil empire Rome, it is only natural that evil England ended up this way. By-the-way, what part had the hook-nosed aristocrats played in perfidious Albion ?

understood that something is radically, totally wrong, in the whole structure of modern society. The combinations of labor, in addition to the direct purpose of maintaining or bettering their condition for the moment, are deeply, sometimes fiercely, studying the problem of superfluous wealth and excessive poverty. And they are on the very verge of all they seek to know. The whole philosophy of property, —the exact natural rights of man in relation to his material surroundings,— this philosophy has been announced, and these rights have been laid down. Gradually, yet not altogether slowly, they will be understood. And then they will be enforced. For, in this country, the people as a whole have the power —immediate, political, sovereign— to accomplish what their reason commends and their conscience commands.

Chapter III.

THE HISTORICAL GIST OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. THE END OF THE SCIENCE IN THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY.

We have now drawn the straight line of history, in connection with property, from the beginning of civilization to the present day. But, for the reason that the line is straight, it is short, precluding all details that could possibly be avoided. It presupposes, also, some little information on the part of the reader. Its use is this: it demonstrates practically, through the facts which have constituted human existence, the complete truth, the material actuality, of the principle of property, —that great direct law of the Absolute which was scientifically and ethically established in our first chapter.

The history of the world, so far, fully expresses and materializes that law in its phase of integration and its phase of disintegration, and shows that the phase of re-integration and fulfilment is now in the first process of evolution.

The primeval ages, with their first natural perception of human rights and necessities, laid down the systems and the laws of common property. Those ages, too, were the epochs of right and duty, —the epochs of religion,— of the affirmative on Earth, if only the affirmative of Earth's childhood. But the negative —disintegration, decay, evil, death,— these are the only means of growth. The negative is one half of every principle, one half of every fact, one half of every phenomenon. The reverse half of the principle of property came into distinct historic evolution with the individual separateness, the individual selfishness, and so the dearth of patriotism and the general decadence of Rome. It was further exemplified in the results of feudalism, —a system poisoned at the start, and finally rotted to the core from inoculation of Roman example and Roman law. And the epochs which have accomplished this work have been negative in all the rest, —the ages of greed and cunning, conscious and careless wrong, irreligion and littleness, in spite of their conceit, and in spite even of their great and beneficent contributions to the sum of human welfare. The time will soon come, in more respects than one, when our age too will be included among the "dark ages."

But in the phase of re-integration and fulfilment, now beginning its development in the principle of property, we see the affirmative and constructive, the moral and religious, coming back into the most ordinary and practical of human affairs. The question of individuality —of private rights, private judgment, private property,— this question of mere individual welfare, in all its forms, has been considered long enough. The question now is of all these rights, strictly maintained and retained, but subordinated to the universal, — public rights, public judgment, public property, public welfare.

So an age of re-integration —of reconciling and co-ordinating the negative with the affirmative, the new with the old, the evil with the good— must necessarily be an age of reason and of conscience. Its first work, logically and

inevitably, must be to prove the absolute truth on which it rests, and the absolute righteousness of that truth.

In regard to the principle of property, this step has already been taken, this ground has already been covered. But here, to the same end, let us take a critical and historical glance at the general field of political economy. Universal, governmental house-law is the logic of practical subsistence, —the explanation of man's relation to what he may eat and what he may own.

But there is no need of re-beginning the subject with Aristotle. The wise, synthetic Greek, laid down the definition, and planted the science. But there could be no growth for it while the only real business of the world was war, and while industry was the service of slaves. What use for political economy had Rome when Cicero could be wise in his generation, and yet say: "The gains of merchants, of all who live by labor, are mean and ignoble. Merchandise is a badge of slavery." But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of our Christian era, when commerce had arisen and agriculture had become settled; when blessed gunpowder had been found, and was blowing the mere fighters of Earth to other hells than those of their own making; then inquiring minds began to ask for the causes and ends of work, trade, and money. In Italy, in France, in Spain, in England, the same questions arose at almost the same time. In 1677 Andrew Yarranton seems to have grouped the elements and laid out the march of subsequent British industry; while a few years before, Louis the Fourteenth had called on the banker's clerk, Colbert, to save his realm from "the commercial distress in which two regencies and a weak reign" had involved the *fleur-de-lis*. Henceforward the subject of political economy in its various branches —agriculture, manufacture, trade, money,—became a part of the interest and discussion of the most observing and penetrating minds of Europe, whether John Locke, the elder Mirabeau, or David Hume, until, in the same year with the American Declaration of Independence, Adam Smith issued his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.

Treating production and the causes of improvement in it; the natural distribution of wealth; the functions of capital, labor, wages; the sources of public revenue, and the rightful methods of raising and employing it; the amiable and thoughtful Scotchman endeavored to group the different specialties of a vast theme into something like an exact science.

At that time, it must be observed, the hopes and the aspirations of mankind were becoming greatly exalted in many directions. Man as man — his own master in all respects— was asserting himself as never before. Machinery had largely taken the place of hands, and was swiftly multiplying its forces. Steam had been applied, and its new revelations to Watt gave promise of the wonders it has since achieved. It was the era, too, of Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and the United States of America. Following speedily, came that tremendous moral and political earthquake, the French Revolution, —starved, depressed, debased humanity exploding at last from the depths, and breaking in pieces the whole hard, heavy crust of an unbear-

able social fabric. To hopeful and beneficent souls, it seemed indeed as if a new "golden age" was dawning, in which freedom, equality, peace, and plenty, would eventually become the lot of mankind.

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If you completely mis-read the nature of the French Revolution —just as you woefully misread the nature and deeds of the Church of Rome— what else have you misread ? How much trust may we put into your conclusions which you derived from lack of historical knowledge ?

The "French" revolution was the product and work of a criminal organization. A criminal organization that wanted to make sure that the people of France, the people of Europe, the people of the planet, never inherit the Earth—in a monarchy, there is always a danger that a competent, talented, able king happens on the throne, and he administers the realm as he should and clears out the tapeworms who chew at the roots of the tree of life. The starved, depressed humanity of France wanted to retain monarchy; wanted their king to rise to the occasion and cleanse the system, and relieve them from the burdens placed on them by the church and the nobles, who alienated the land of France from them.

What had the people got from the revolution and the revolutionary leaders ? Blood-bath, gore; more oppression, more depression Who saved the people of France at the end ? Napoleon, the dictator king, who made possible for the residents of France to earn a living; who made possible for the people all the blessings of a HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY which you claim to advocate in this pamphlet; a warrior king who tried to liberate the planet from the hook-nosed aristocrats and the oligarchy in London.

You are strangely silent on Bonaparte, the one shining light in that second millennium.

In France we are still very far behind on these delicate points, which are still unperceived or ill-understood by the mass of society. Yet what advancement have we not made,—what correctness of ideas has been introduced by my gradual classification of agriculture, industry, and trade; objects so distinct in themselves, and which present so great and positive a graduation !

1st.—**Agriculture**; the soul, the first basis of the empire.

2nd.—**Industry**; the comfort and happiness of the population.

3rd.—Foreign trade; the superabundance, the proper application of the surplus of agriculture and industry.

Agriculture was continually improving during the whole course of the revolution. Foreigners thought it ruined in France. In 1814, however, the English were compelled to admit that we had little or nothing to learn from them.

Industry or manufactures, and internal trade, made immense progress during my reign. The application of chemistry to the manufactures caused them to advance with giant strides. I gave an impulse, the effects of which extended throughout Europe.

Foreign trade, which in its results is infinitely inferior to agriculture, was an object of subordinate importance in my mind. Foreign trade is made for agriculture and home industry, and not the two latter for the former. The interests of these three fundamental cases are diverging and frequently conflicting. I always promoted them in their natural gradation; but I could not and ought not to have ranked them all on an equality.

Nous demeurons encore en France bien arriérés sur ces matières délicates: elles sont encore étrangères ou confuses pour la masse de la société. Cependant quel pas n'avions-nous pas fait, quelle rectitude d'idées n'avait pas répandue la seule classification graduelle que j'avais consacrée de l'agriculture, de l'industrie et du commerce ! objets si distincts et d'une graduation si réelle et si grande !

1° *L'agriculture*; l'âme, la base première de l'empire.

2° *L'industrie*; l'aisance, le bonheur de la population.

3° *Le commerce extérieur*. la surabondance, le bon emploi des deux autres.

L'agriculture n'a cessé de gagner durant tout le cours de la Révolution. Les étrangers la croyaient perdue chez nous. En 1814, les Anglais ont été pourtant contraints de confesser qu'ils avaient peu ou point à nous montrer.

L'industrie ou les manufactures et le commerce intérieur ont fait sous moi des progrès immenses. L'application de la chimie aux manufactures les a fait avancer à pas de géant. J'ai imprimé un élan qui sera partagé de toute l'Europe.

Le commerce extérieur, infiniment au-dessous dans ses résultats aux deux autres, leur a été aussi constamment subordonné dans ma pensée. Celui-ci est fait pour les deux autres; les deux autres ne sont pas faits pour lui. Les intérêts de ces trois bases essentielles sont divergents, souvent opposés. Je les ai constamment servis dans leur rang naturel, mais n'ai jamais pu ni dû les satisfaire à la fois. — *said Napoleon as he reminisced on St. Helena.*

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But to this agreeable vision, what said the hard head of political economy ? Analyzing production, Adam Smith had laid down the formula that the capital of a nation, —the general fund invested in business,— is the source of wages; and, as only so much can be divided up, the wages of workmen, hence, the industrial compensation of the masses, must depend upon their own number; being high if hands are few, low if hands are numerous.

This proposition seemed harmless enough; and, from the direct, superficial view, at least, was true. But in 1798 it was supplemented by the most ridiculous and essentially atheistic theory, perhaps, that has ever gained any considerable standing in modern thought, —the theory of the Reverend Mr. Malthus, that the plans and ways of God are so inharmonious and inconsequential that the populations of Earth naturally outrun the subsistence provided for them.

According to Malthus himself, in fact, the rule was announced that population doubles in twenty-five years, while, by no possibility can subsistence increase faster than as the addition of one to one in the same time. Thus, in a quarter of a century, a population of one million would become two millions; and, to this point subsistence might follow, adding its one to one, and feeding the new mouths. But, in another twenty-five years, population would be four millions, and the support for them only three millions. The next step would be eight millions of people, with subsistence for four millions; and the next, sixteen millions, with food for not a third of them. According to this tendency, of course, the unchecked growth of the human race would presently need all the worlds in the solar universe to make a meal. But, as no more people can

live than those who can find something to live on, what is the result ? Nature, says Malthus, furnishes a check to population, in the inevitable fact of vice, poverty, and misery, which perpetually cut down human beings and rot them away.

---[You waste space (twenty pages) and time on ideas of this non-human, then build a straw-man out of it. You should have familiarized yourself with the concepts (applied concepts) of Napoleon, the old-fashioned priest-king. Napoleon, who didn't theorize, day-dream, write books or pamphlets, but acted and enacted.]

Chapter IV.

THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY IN ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION A GLANCE AT THE MEANS NECESSARY TO THE END

There ought now, certainly, to be no further need of elucidation to establish in every alert understanding the great principle, or law, of property. We have found, to begin with, that this principle constitutes one of the fundamental relations between mind and matter; and thus we have simply formulated one of the absolute laws of the universe, and uttered one of the everlasting commandments of God.

Next, we have traversed human history, and have found that the existence of mankind on Earth has been a living verification, a practical embodiment of this principle, this law, this commandment. Finally, we have retraced the line of that special science through which the principle of property has been gradually developed and mirrored to man's reason; and here we have found that every step in political economy, from Aristotle to Henry George, leads inevitably to our own last step, which is the logical end of the science itself.

In specially scrutinizing Mr. George we have ascertained where lies the flaw which every body feels there is in his doctrine, when he would impose the taxes of all society upon one class of society —the owners of land. Yet, while pointing out this flaw, we have the more fully confirmed the substantial truth of Mr. George's position, showing that his only weakness is in being, not incorrect, but incomplete. The moment his own logic, according to his own language, is literally carried out, his half-generalization turns into a whole one, —his hemisphere becomes a rounded globe. In itself, therefore, the principle of property need be no further discussed. We must consider it settled. Let us turn now to the practical application of it, —the means and the results of putting it into operation.

The people of the world own the world, as their joint possession, by natural and divine right. The citizens of a country own the material wealth of that country, under the same title. They are the sovereign landlord of such bounty of nature as it affords, works up, or exchanges. As this landlord, rent accrues to them, —the natural rent of their common estate; and this rent, based on the average mortality of citizens, falls into the form of an annual *ad-valorem* tax on assets, —the only form in which it can be practically realized.

But how is such a tax to be collected? And what is to be done with it?

Well, by the time the subject becomes sufficiently understood to command practice, the collection of the people's rent will be easy enough. In the United States it can be collected substantially as the income-tax was collected during the War of the Rebellion, with as much cheaper and better methods as can be devised by a nation instead of a party, and in the calm of peace instead of the tumult of war. There need be no difficulty, at least, in making the levy full and effective. If, in preparing a schedule of assets for

taxation, any citizen sets the value of a piece of property too low, its superior owner, the people, may take it themselves, at his own estimate, and pay him for it. Under such a rule, the most unpatriotic tax-dodger would soon be washed and combed into a being presentable to the rest of the community.

But the disposition to be made of the tax ? What are the people to do with so much wealth ?

This is the paramount question that every darling little aristocrat will most anxiously put to his startled understanding. The reply shall be frank and exact, though it will not be necessary to go into minute details.

One thing must never be out of mind in connection with this whole subject —that is, the common, the undivided, the public ownership of the property taxed, and hence the common, the undivided, the public ownership of the tax itself. There can be no direct redistribution of this tax to individuals, that laggards and bummers may swallow their portion of it. Their portion is joint and inseparable from the rest. This point is involved in the absolute law of property itself, and so it would have to be a part of what is termed "the constitution," under any government fulfilling that law.

The first use for the annual rent of the people's estate will necessarily be to pay for managing the heritage. All expenses of government will constitute this item. Then the residue will be employed in what may be summed up as internal improvements, that term being understood in the largest sense. There are some things which equally conduce to the welfare of all the people of any nation. These things are fresh air, pure water, comfortable habitations, cheap, wholesome food and clothing, facilities of travel and communication, and the fundamental means of education and progress.

There is no need of dogmatizing, here, on any man's special manner of distributing these general blessings. Methods would rest on the experience of nations, so far as they have gone, and on the good sense of mankind in general. Besides, they would have to be submitted to the popular will —the people's vote. For the principle of property presupposes the sovereignty of the people. If the people own a country, they direct the management of it; —and just that management is the whole meaning of government.

Still, if we wish some specific suggestions concerning the outlay of a people's natural rent, beyond the immediate expenses of government, —say in the United States,— such suggestions can easily be given.

For one thing, the people should own all the land, buildings, and appliances required to conduct their government. The government should not hire these things of private individuals, unless in exceptional instances, but should buy, and build, and hold them as the agent of the common owner. A people should be their own capitalist, and should save rent and interest. And what would this simple application of ordinary business sense, in one direction, immediately achieve ? It would help the poor, while economizing for rich and poor alike. It would provide work for capitalists, mechanics, laborers, and clerks, at a fair price. To no inconsiderable extent, the people, the masses, could thus, through their government, enter into competition with other capi-

talists in the employment of labor, and lessen their dependence on individual employers. This one step alone would have almost adequately relieved the people of the United States during any recent pressure of "hard times."

Yet this would be only the first toddling step of infancy. No country road and no city street or by-way of a nation, when mankind once know their rights, will ever be left in improper or unhealthful conditions. No dwelling will be allowed to stand that is not fit for the habitation of a decent human being. The poor man's hovel will not first poison and kill his babes, and then waft contamination and death to the rich man's drawing-room and nursery: both hearts will be spared in their tenderest spot by a little justice applied to wealth. Then, if the rich delight in their private gardens, the people can have public parks, —not some stinted suggestions of grass, and flowers, and trees, but royal enclosures, glorious enough for their new king, and for nature and reality. Public baths, too, might be as numerous, accessible and remedial as they were in old Rome; —not altogether free, perhaps, but near enough to it to be only self-supporting. As for rivers, canals, railways —all avenues of travel and transportation,— these would of course be improved and amplified to their fullest scope; then they would be appropriated or regulated to the economy of the people.

It is evident there will always be enough public uses to which a people may put the natural rent that belongs to them. They may use it, if they wish, in competition with individual landlords; and this would be the just and proper way to recover the undue gains which have followed the private ownership of land, instead of taxing such ownership out of existence. For example, the people could build and lease dwellings adapted to the needs of the majority of citizens; or they could simply give government premiums to private enterprise for doing the same thing, thus making ordinary habitations plentiful and cheap. This simple method of competition between the great public landlord and the several private landlords would gradually reduce all rent to a normal basis, without the injustice of taking away any kind of property from people who have come into lawful possession of it.^{\$}

In fact, having found the correct, the absolute principle of property, there is no department of government, of business, or of right, that it does not fit.

However, it must now be stated and borne thoroughly in mind, that the higher law of property, like every other basic principle of the universe, is dependent, for its practical fulfilment, on certain fundamental adjustments of economics and politics, as means to the end.

^{\$} Opium, heroin, cocaine was legal in those days. Have you been using some to induce utopian dream-visions, fantasies, day-dreams ?

You use the example how money was collected during the war against the South. How was that money spent ? Horrendous speculation, corruption, waste, mis-management. The asset-value of the United States is 50,000million, 2% of that is \$1,000 million. And you would give this to upstanding city, State and federal managers to spend. Upstanding managers like your hero, Thaddeus Stevens, who wanted the Pennsylvania government to build a choo-choo train to his pig-iron mill in the middle of nowhere (and was highly indignant when the Democrats in the legislature put an end to his project, after wasting \$500,000 on it).

An annual *ad-valorem* tax on the world's assets, adjusted in accordance with the average death-rate of mankind, and re-distributed in common public benefits, would constantly render every inhabitant of the globe equal to every other inhabitant in the natural and inalienable right of access to matter. But this right can only be reached, or at least maintained, through a universal and actual system of democracy, as the world's government.^{\$} For no king, no aristocrat, no monopolist of any kind, ever ungripped for a people what belonged to them. They must take it if they are to have it. On the other hand, they can never keep it, if they take it, until they are intelligent and just enough for genuine self-government.

So far, there has been no actual, complete democracy among the governments of Earth. In the United States we doubtless have the nearest approximation to it that our planet has ever furnished on a large scale. But our country has always, in reality, been governed by oligarchies. From 1789 to 1861, the slave-holding oligarchs of the South, and the banking and trading oligarchs of the North, joined hands, with perfect success, through national and state legislation, to monopolize the fruits of our industry and growth. And they tried hard enough to overturn the very principles, if not the forms, of popular government. Since the War of the Rebellion a new set of oligarchies have arisen, with a broader field of action, and with almost greater dangers to the people than were threatened by the old ones.

"For three decades a union of the South and West prevented a restoration of the centralized banking system. Not until the planting statesmen withdrew from Congress, and the storm of the Civil War swept minor gusts before it, were the ravages wrought by Jackson repaired by the directors of affairs in Washington."

Take the money oligarchy as the first instance, —the "respectable" and cunning monopoly which has directly and indirectly controlled the currency of the country during the past quarter of a century. This combination began its career, in 1861, by influencing the Senate to destroy those features of the legal-tender act by which the House had placed the national credit at par with coin. By this crime, or "blunder worse than crime," the national treasury was forced to dump its paper into the world's "bullion-shops" at from forty to seventy-five cents on the dollar. Mr. Spaulding, "father of the greenback," and since President of the National Banking Association, protested bitterly against the whole scheme of "knocking down the government stocks," which he proclaimed, in advance, would "double the national debt"; and the "grand old commoner," Thaddeus Stevens [a bank-lawyer who had nothing to do with

^{\$} You are completely out of your mind. "World government" ??? "universal democracy" ??? Only a king or a dictator (of a nation-state) could enact and enforce such taxation ! Democracy mob-rule was invented and instituted by the aristocrats and monopolists to make sure that nothing like you dream of ever takes place —democracy is to make sure that the people never get a good government.

The Tsar of Russia, or a Napoleon, could enforce such taxation and spending; but never an elected president or prime minister, or governor. Get your head out of the clouds !

the common man], declared that the Senate had been induced, "with but little deliberation," to "mangle and destroy what it had cost the House months to digest, consider, and pass." The prophecy of Mr. Spaulding and the fears of Mr. Stevens were soon terribly justified.¹

At the close of the war the national debt, which should have been some eighteen hundred millions of dollars, had reached twenty-eight hundred and eight millions. The volume of currency, which should have been about a thousand millions, had been inflated to more than eighteen hundred millions; and then a system of contraction was precipitated, by means of which the bubble collapsed, and which might have ended in popular turmoil had not Congress intervened. Through our system of currency since the opening of the Rebellion, the sum of wealth (principal and interest) taken from the people as a whole, and absorbed by the few, has been variously estimated at from five to seven billions of dollars. At the most conservative figure, it can hardly be placed at less than one tenth of the country's present wealth.

But, if such an abomination be possible —and it is nothing now but one of the cold facts of history,— it is evident that no distribution of wealth, however just and adequate, can be made effective without a system also of just money. Money, in fact, strictly speaking, is the divisible and aggregate representative of all wealth, —the medium alone through which property can be exchanged,— and so the abuse and derangement of that which represents and commands all property necessarily deranges all property itself.

Scientific money —a money of invariable value, and which can never be cornered— a money fitting every commodity, and commanding it as definitely as any deed commands any house and lot, —such money is not a dream, but an easy possibility of the future. Men will be infants and barbarians until they achieve it.

In a second volume of this book I hope to epitomize the history of money, and to show what scientific money^{\$} is, in system and detail.

I hope at the same time to expound, by sufficient analysis and illustration, a scientific or rational tariff. For, next to a true and adequate system of currency, such a tariff is an indispensable means of securing and maintaining, for any people, their rights in property.

The tariff system of the United States, notably during the past quarter of a century, has been one of so-called "protection to American industry." But what have been the fruits by which we know it ? One glance at statistics will give the answer.²

1 The same-old, same old, ignorance-based false premise, upon which you build a theory:— that at the beginning of the war, well-meaning statesmen introduced U.S. notes to benefit the people of the North, and later the whole U.S.

The sad reality is that bad people, for nefarious purposes, gave ye greenbacks.

\$ In your 1894 book, *Shylock*, you wrote that silver, supplemented and complemented by non-legal-tender Treasury notes, was that perfect money.

2 Thaddeus Stevens and William Kelley were vehement supporters of this tariff — so it must be good.

We have fifty millions of people in this country, and fifty billions of dollars in property —enough to count one thousand dollars to every man, woman, and child, or five thousand dollars to a family. But how is the property situated ? Vanderbilt is said to have two hundred millions of it. Jay Gould has gathered up —never mind how much, but all he could safely get. Three or four other men, in New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, stand together for about as much as Vanderbilt and Gould. In other words, half a dozen men in the United States own or control 2% [\$1,000,000,000] of the whole nation's assets.

Again, if we are to trust the United States census of 1880, the number of work-people engaged in American manufactures was two million seven hundred and thirty-seven thousand, and they averaged \$346.00 each —less than a dollar a day. But, on every dollar of that labor, capital made a dollar and eight cents; and it averaged thirty-six per cent. on its aggregate investment. In the same year we had eight millions of farmers and farm-hands. They got for their toil the average of \$289.00. Here, then, were the American producers —the great mass of them, with their families,— their average living, taken all together, being about eighty-five cents a day, a sum which has certainly been much decreased by the subsequent pressure of "hard times."

Our American "protective tariff" is evidently a good thing —for oligarchies, for monopolies.¹

But the tariff alone is far from being guilty of all the sins condensed in these figures. The railway oligarchs, for instance, have shovelled in their "swag," as some of them frankly call it, not by means of the tariff, but mostly by obtaining the right from the people to convey their productions to market, and then turning round on the farmer and manufacturer and charging for the freight on such productions all that they can be made to yield without absolutely stopping their shipment.[§]

That is our American railroad system. It does not earn what it gets. It simply corners production and takes all that can be grabbed —all that "the traffic will bear." That is why the grain of the West cannot come to the East, and the manufactures of the East cannot go to the West, at prices under which they can be freely exchanged and keep us all busy.

But, in addition to such booty, these same great railway bandits have given away to themselves, through their clerks and servants in Congress, more than two hundred million acres of the public lands. Horace Greeley used to say: "Young man, go West." Now, there is no West for the young man to take, after he goes there. The homestead that belongs to him the railroads have pocketed; for, after all they have not literally stolen it.

Once again, our whole system of American taxation has come to be so arranged that it spares the rich and burdens the poor. It constantly tends to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer. Every farmer must pinch a dollar,

1 Stevens and Kelley, & many of their ilk, were all for it, so it must be !

§ Lincoln, Thaddeus, Kelley, whole-heartedly and actively supported these land-grant railways and the give-away of 200 million acres of land.

to pay the taxes on his bit of ground. Every city mechanic, trader, or laborer, must do the same to preserve his modest homestead. But a bondholder, with millions of personal property, can shuffle off the taxes on eight-tenths of his estate. The fact is, the rich have made all our laws, especially for the last twenty-three years;¹ and they have made those laws wholly for themselves.

So, to see where the people's natural wealth and the productions of their labor have been absorbed, —to see why the masses are living on less than eighty-five cents a day for a family, and thus verging on a condition that has appropriately enough been called "white slavery,"— it is necessary to look mainly in five directions. There is the great currency fraud; there is the tariff; and then come the vast railway monopolies, the land-grabs, and the cruel and abominable discriminations of the tax-levies.

On a moment's consideration, it will be perceived that the "land-question" and the "tax-question" would immediately settle themselves, under the establishment of collecting and redistributing what I have shown to be the people's natural rent of their common estate. The annual ad-valorem tax on assets, according to the death-rate of a people, would necessarily level all preferences and skulkings in regard to public burdens; and the same tax, applied to unoccupied land, would force it into the market, with little waiting for speculative rise in its value, or else the holder would soon be on the road to deserved bankruptcy.

The "transportation question" could not be wholly settled in the same direct way, under the application of the higher law of property. But what civilized people will long submit to unregulated private control over their great avenues of communication and transit ? Under the law of eminent domain, these thoroughfares have been opened, as against the rights of special individuals whose possessions stood in their way. Under the same law of eminent domain —the other end of it,— the people can easily find the means of protecting themselves against the extortions of their public carriers.

How ridiculous to have a postal department of government, and then have a private citizen decide the freight on a mail-bag, and say whether or not it shall be forwarded ! The people are yet infants and savages —not very much in advance of their forefathers, who suffered the mail-clad "chivalry" of Europe to swoop down from their stone castles, and levy "black-mail" on every merchant-traveller. Our railroad corporations do the same thing, under customs and laws more cunning and hypocritical, but not much more honest, than the ancient precedents.

A people's postal and telegraphic communication, their great lines of waterway and railway —such departments of their business as are common and national in their scope,— must all either vest directly in themselves, or

1 During those 23 years, the Republican Party, the party of the money-power, the party of Lincoln, Stevens, Kelley, Sumner, Phillips, Greeley, Butler, Wade, was in control of the country (House, Senate, Presidency), only recently was a Democrat (in name only) Cleveland installed in the White House.

else be subject to the strictest legislative and judicial oversight, before we shall ever get an hour's respite from being scalped and skinned.¹

But here we come back to the question of tariff. Under the higher law of property, there would of course be no consideration of such a thing as a tariff for revenue. The only rightful source of government expenses is a direct tax on assets, —a tax which belongs to the people as a part of their natural rent. The only use for any incidental revenue would be to add it to the sum of the birthright tax. On the other hand, if it should be necessary to encourage "home manufactures" for the sake of general growth, independence, and self-defence, the premiums to support such encouragement would have to come out of the same common fund.

It must be mentioned, also, that something which would amount to a people's toll on exports is a corollary of the higher law of property. For if the people of a country have a common annual interest of two per cent. in its wealth, they must devise some method of collecting their annual rent from such property as they permit to leave their boundaries. But any collection on exports can be made but once; so the people's annuity in them would have to be computed as a perpetuity. It is a principle, however, rather than a specific method, to which attention is here called. The end of a tariff, so far as it is a common good, is to aid in making the wealth of a country as abundant as possible for its own people, and to give them the first benefit of it. The natural wealth of new countries in special should be protected from reckless exportation, which often exhausts what ought to be retained, but which is pushed out in exchange with old nations for trifles and luxuries.

To buy cheap and sell dear (get the most wealth for what is given), and to do a small and profitable business rather than a large and losing one, are supposed to be advantageous rules of business. But tariffs seem to have been framed, especially in America, to violate both rules as egregiously as possible. They have been framed for individuals, for monopolies, not for the people.

We find, then, that the higher law of property, even if carried into direct practical operation, could be rendered partly if not wholly abortive, by a dishonest or defective currency, a tariff based on chicanery, or a general monopoly in handling and transferring a country's productions. In the United States, each one of these things is an insatiate leech, by which the profits of skill and industry are constantly sucked out of the people's life.

But it will probably be, even yet, a slow process by which such vast wrongs can be righted. In fact, they are only just coming to be understood. And the cure for them presupposes both the elevation and extension of democratic government —the people's full and thorough command of their own welfare.

The very methods of democracy are yet in their infancy, and our American system is an illustration of it. The best we can now do is to live under the

1 No elected Congress or President will accomplish this for you ! You need a king or a dictator who will close down newspapers, supreme-court judges; by military force eliminates monopolies; with an iron fist enforces rules.

rule not of the people but of political parties; whereas a genuine republic will look back on political parties as the rubbish of savagery.

I shall not attempt here to construct even a rough model of the machinery through which such a republic would work. But a homogeneous¹ nation, if at the same time a democracy, would be represented by a national body of its servants large enough to stand for all the people's great interests, both progressive and conservative, and these representatives would be chosen, not by sectional constituencies, but each one by a combination of voters extending throughout the country. In this way, both comparative majorities and comparative minorities would reach expression and sovereignty in a national body while a majority of that body would really duplicate the will of a majority of the people, and govern the nation in its law-making capacity. The members of such a body would soon be the two or three hundred most popular and capable men in the country, and the one standing at the head, by virtue of the most votes behind him, would naturally be the President and chief executive, with such powers as the position would require.

But there is no reason why the people should hire their servants by the year, or by the biennial or quadrennial term. When we learn how to conduct our public business on business principles, we shall insist on retaining our most faithful employes for life, and on discharging the unfaithful and incompetent at will. This requirement will ultimate in a system of what may be termed "perpetual elections" —say the right of every citizen to vote monthly, through regularly constituted election bureaus, national, state, and local. A really civilized people will then dispense with the clumsy, expensive, and abused ballot, with its dirty polling-booths; and voting will be done by mail, if most convenient for the voter, each vote being recorded, and the receipt of it acknowledged in writing to the citizen who deposits or sends it. The mere official publication of district, state, and national election reports, will then inform every reader whether his own vote be properly accounted for in his district, and accurately summarized in the state and national reports. The will of the people will thus be fully expressed, the majority will rule while the minority will have all the power belonging to them, and there will be no chance or possibility of fraud.²

1 Now your cognitive dissonance bubbles to the surface. The white population of the U.S. is not homogeneous, but that is the least of your problem. You do NOT believe in homogeneous nation ! you are a race-mixer, your mentor-hero, Wendel Phillips, who trained you up and fed you your wisdom-knowledge, was a race-mixer, a mad-dog abolitionist and reconstructionist !

And, as you seem to perceive, without homogeneity there is no nation, no common gene-pool, common morality.

2 What you are dreaming of already exists in Switzerland, the Switzerland that was organized while Napoleon was the man in charge. But you don't like to hear about Napoleon. In Switzerland there is direct participation in the affairs of the nation. They are three different races, but they overcome their differences. With millions of liberated negroes roaming in America such system is im-possible.

And now we may sum up this volume in a sentence. A people who adopt and enforce the higher law of property, establish a scientific currency and a rational tariff, guard the transit as well as the production of their wealth, and constantly hold these paramount interests in hand by some effective system of "perpetual elections," will have solved every great problem of political economy, which means the material welfare of mankind —practical democracy.

It seems a pity that so much is required, and that the time is not to-day. But let us be thankful that the end is not impossible, and need not even be very distant.

Last Word.

The Methods of Anarchy.

"MAN'S BIRTHRIGHT" goes to press just as America is startled and shocked by information from England that the House of Parliament and the London Tower have been shattered by dynamite, while crowded by holiday visitors, and that several persons, including women and children, have been killed or maimed by the explosion. This outburst of indiscriminate homicide is supposed to come from the spirit of retaliation against England, for the poverty and the political wrongs put upon Ireland.

At the close of a book devoted to the most radical interests of mankind, both in government and property, I feel it incumbent upon me to utter a word of warning against the methods of anarchy.

---[Are you suffering from delusion of grandeur ?]

I say nothing of Russia, where "there is no press, no debate, no explanation of what government does, no remonstrance allowed, no agitation of public issues," —nothing but the dead silence of unmitigated tyranny, long known as "a despotism tempered by assassination."

But in countries like England and America, where peaceful agitation is a part of daily life, and where the masses are really getting about all they know enough to demand, it is a frightful experiment and an inexcusable blunder to seek reform through murder. Such a course must necessarily lead, on the one hand, to despotism; on the other, to chaos. Grievous as are the ills of present society, they are not yet so utterly bad but that the majority of the people would rather live than die. Hence governments —even free governments — must, in self-defence, adopt whatever measures may be necessary to restrict the persistent votaries of dynamite. Yet, under modern conditions of independence and comparative intelligence, a little overdoing of general repression may end in the very anarchy resisted —a new phase of what followed the downfall of the Roman Empire.

But again, the so-called "better" or "upper classes" of our civilization may not be really so heartless and mercenary as the struggling and harrowed millions imagine. Who can say that the ruling forces of Britain and the United States would not be willing to do substantial justice to the people, even in the rights of property —on which now depend all other rights,— if the way to do it were perfectly clear and certain ? No system of "socialism" or "communism" —no attempt to level the human race, and run mankind in a given mould — has ever had sense enough in it to stand up in front of practical criticism. British legislation, at this moment, does not question, in theory, the right of the British people to the common possession of their territory, but holds that individual possession of property is necessary, as it certainly is, to the best maintenance and the fullest productiveness of the people's estate. The specious theory that land is any exception to property in general has nothing to rest on, as I trust I have finally made clear.

The Fenian percussionists are, perhaps, past the reach of suggestion; but it will be well to halt in the exploding of dynamite until somebody is altogether sure, at least, that he is right as to the end to be achieved through such ghastly feats.

The higher law of property is before the world. Under this law the people can learn to what they are entitled, and by what their title is limited. Let them take what belongs to them, in all countries; but in most countries they will find that the disruption of law and order will be their hardest and longest road, only to be travelled at the greatest cost.

July 4, 1887.

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT IN WEALTH

REDUCED TO DOLLARS AND CENTS

By Edward Gordon Clark,

Author of *Man's Birthright: or, The Higher Law of Property*; *The People's Share in Wealth* (The North American Review); *The Mistake of Henry George's Land Tax* (North American Review); *Scientific Taxation* (North American Review), etc., etc.

Monograph Publisher,
18 Washington Place,
New York city.

To Circulate 1,000,000 copies of this tract will be the end of Socialism, the end of Communism, the end of Anarchism.

MODERN FREEDOM, hungry, ragged, and down at the heel, has got sick of herself. She has found that sovereignty without ownership is a fraud. The expropriated —the wretch divorced from capital, and to whom his country does not guarantee honest labor with fair returns for it— is a slave. Special black slavery has been abolished in America. General white slavery has taken its place. A thousand monopolies are our new masters; ten thousand politicians are their overseers; "we, the people," are their gangs of bondmen. I purpose to point out a few of the monopolies which have reduced us to this latest form of slavery. I purpose, then, to show the way —the one best way— to break our bonds and right our wrongs.

It makes little difference just where we begin. Here are five monopolies that have kidnapped the Government of the United States, and are holding it to service as their chief clerk:

LAND MONOPOLY,
CURRENCY MONOPOLY,
TARIFF MONOPOLY,
TAXATION MONOPOLY,
TRANSPORTATION MONOPOLY.

Let us glance at the first—

LAND MONOPOLY.

Since the United States became a nation, the people have owned nine hundred millions of acres of available public land. Nominal settlers have had one-third of it. A hundred and sixty-one million acres have been turned over to the States. Sixty-seven millions have gone for bounties, water-ways and highways. About a hundred millions are left unclaimed. The "railway kings"

have "gobbled" the rest through corrupt legislation. While the people were giving half a million lives to save the nation, these "railway kings" appropriated, through their partners and footmen in Congress, twice as much of the people's heritage as the whole territory of New England. While American soldiers were dying in corps to preserve eleven States to the Union, American monopolists were taking away from the soldiers' orphans enough territory for twelve new States.[§] These soldiers' orphans are now the tenant-farmers of those robbers' heirs and assigns; and the United States contains a quarter of a million more of such tenant farmers than "poor old Ireland." In fact, we have as much ground as the whole of Ireland in the hands of twenty-nine alien, absentee landlords. So much for land monopoly.*

Now look at the

CURRENCY MONOPOLY.

A few years ago a new party sprang up among us, called the "Greenback Party." It never amounted to much, in the sense of electing constables, presidents, and such things. It was simply a protest against one of the most gigantic swindles of the modern world. By that swindle, the money-monopolists of America and Europe —what Thaddeus Stevens called the "bullion mongers"—cheated the people of the United States out of five thousand millions of dollars in the twenty years following 1861. This monopoly was procured by controlling the Senate, and seducing that body into framing the legal tender act of a great nation in the small, single interest of a Wall-Street coin-pot. The Coin-Pot used the Senate to create government notes convertible at their face in soldiers' blood and bones, but expressly inconvertible at the same value in the percentages of Shylock —the interest on the public debt. It was done against an overwhelming majority of the ablest and most honest House of Representatives that ever sat in Washington. Stevens, "the great commoner," cried over it like a child. Spaulding —then Chairman of the sub-Committee of Ways and Means, since President of the National Banking Association—exposed the plot, and said it would "double the national debt." It did not —quite. In 1865 the debt stood at twenty-eight hundred and eight millions. A thousand millions of it was sheer inflation —water injected by the coin-pot conspiracy. The rest was a tolerably honest obligation. But the thousand millions has since been eating interest, and the inflation soon led to Hugh McCulloch and his murderous contraction —another deal in the sole

§ During the war against the independence-minded States, the Republican Party held the majority in the House, in the Senate, presidents Lincoln, Grant, Hayes were Republicans. The Republican Party was the party of greenbackers; the party of Horace Greely, Thaddeus Stevens, William Kelley, Wendel Phillips, Charles Sumner, Samuel Hooper, Gerry Spaulding, Benjamin Wade, Benjamin Butler, James Garfield, James Weaver. The bill to give away land to the trans-continental railway was passed by this party at the same time as they passed the greenback bill and the national currency-bank bill.

The same people whom Mr. Clark tries to present to readers as heroes of the American workers, were "partners and footmen in Congress" to the railway kings.

* An excellent statistical summary of "America's Land Question" can be found in the *North American Review* for February, 1886, in an article by A.J. Desmond.

interest of the coin-pot— by which he wrecked all commercial values, until at last Congress interfered, and choked off the fiscal traitor to his country. The blood-money of the currency-thugs, reckoning for a quarter of a century, has been estimated, by careful authorities, as high as seven billions of dollars, or an amount equal to about one-eighth of the entire capital of the country to-day. Other estimates have been lower, and some higher. But a billion or two is of no consequence where the robbery has been so nearly incalculable.¹

THE TARIFF MONOPOLY, in its fundamental character, is a confidence-game, played against the poor, that the rich may avoid direct taxation.^{\$} Our fathers—a few of whom were great men— instituted "a tariff for revenue." They knew it was unjust, but they did it as they instituted slavery, because they had to compromise with greed and littleness. Then came the pressure to "encourage infant industries" —which had already started without encouragement. The brassy giant "protection," followed the babe "encouragement." Now we have a tariff so utterly rotten that the surplus has become a dead white elephant, and party scavengers wonder how they can cart it away.*

There is no mystery about a tariff. The trade of a nation is like the trade of a peanut-stand. To get all the wealth you can, for what wealth you give, is the business of both. But to give all the corn and cotton we can hand out, for as little to eat and wear as we can take in, is American "business," under the tariff. Buy dear and sell cheap: so you shall have prosperity ! In the interest of the tariff monopolists,² we now subsidize 5% of our industries at the expense of 95%; shout "protection for the workingman," deducting the cost of the noise from his wages; then cut the wages down —first, directly in cash; next, indirectly by competition, in fostering, with all our might, the immigration of Huns, second-hand Romans, and cheap anarchists, from all the sinks of the earth. If this handcuffing of commerce, and general inversion of values, involves a loss of only ten dollars a year to each person in the country, the annual sum is five hundred and fifty millions.

The tariff is corrupt taxation behind the door. The direct, uncovered TAXATION MONOPOLY is next in order. In 1850 the wealth of the United States was a little more than seven billions of dollars. It was assessed for a little more than six billions, or six-sevenths of the whole value. In 1880 the country's assets had reached about forty-four billions. The assessment was for about seventeen billions, or somewhat more than one-third of the value. Why the change ? It was to relieve "personal property," and thus spare the rich from paying their proper share of public obligations, which they put on the compar-

1 From 1861 to 1876 the party of the Thaddeus, the Republican Party, had majority in the House, in the Senate !!!

\$ From the beginning of his political career, Thaddeus Stevens (the bank-lawyer) was a fervent supporter of this "utterly rotten" tariff system —so was William D. Kelley (your other hero)

* A surplus from honest taxation, however, is just the right thing, and the reader of this monograph will ascertain what ought to be done with it.

2 Now you are talking like an independence-minded Southerner who objected to this tariff-for-the-sake-of-monopolies !!

actively poor, for the most part small farmers and house-holders. The special legislation of the past twenty years, exempting bond-holders from taxation, and abetting the concealment of personal property, has enabled the very rich to shirk about nine-tenths of their legitimate tax-burdens.¹

Our fifth national confidence game, the TRANSPORTATION MONOPOLY, is better understood than the other four. The people have been brought into closer contact with it. Not long since the Harpers published a rather remarkable book, entitled "The Railways and the Republic," written by Mr. J.F. Hudson. The gentleman puts a peculiar conundrum to "intelligent Americans." He wants to know whether the Republic is going to rule the railways, or the railways are going to rule the Republic. For the time being, the answer is easy. The railways do rule the Republic.²

How wonderfully these steam turnpikes have developed our resources ! Their great managers have even "made something out of nothing"; for they have saddled on us a fictitious debt of four thousand millions of dollars.³ A double interest, one half illegitimate, on this "capital," our railway bond-masters are whipping out of the toiler's sweat and the merchant's alacrity.

The five United States national monopolies that I have now designated are interlinked, of course, with corporate and individual monopolies in endless variety. Take two or three samples.

By a vast combination between the TRANSPORTATION MONOPOLY and the leading COAL-BED MONOPOLISTS, competition in supplying the people's fuel — their anthracite and bituminous coal— has been extinguished, and extortion has been reduced to an exact science. Every ton of coal that now reaches a consumer could be furnished at two-thirds the usual price, with fair pay to the wretched miners, and a handsome profit to the owners and carriers. The extra percentage is piratical spoil, not business compensation. The coal-pool buccaneers levy a yearly tribute of about forty millions of dollars upon a patient, ox-eyed people, who really own the coal, and grant the charters, of the "kings" and "barons" who ride and rob them.⁴

1 "The greatest evasion of tax-paying is among the richest men —men worth ten, twenty, fifty, or a hundred millions, who, by a just public policy, should carry taxation at a quadruple rate. Sometimes these men do not pay taxes on a tenth part of their property." — William A. Phillips, in *Labor, Land, and Law*. Scribner's Sons.

2 The Inter-State Commerce Act shows some spirit of rebellion against them, and appears to be better than nothing, as a tendency at least.

3 This amount is taken from the figures of B.F. Thurber and the Anti-Monopoly League. Mr. Hudson's book places the sum a little lower, and the author of "Labor, Land and Law" puts it higher.

4 According to the report of the committee of the New York Legislature in 1878, it would seem that this statement is very close to the fact. Mr. Hudson appears to sanction an estimate of thirty-one millions. If the gentle reader is not satisfied with either figure, he may "split the difference."

THE NOTORIOUS STANDARD OIL COMPANY

is another abomination of the same sort. Its record has been summed up as "the history of a commercial crime."¹ Its "business" has been simply a conspiracy against the poor, to keep cheap light away from their dark and desolate homes. As Mr. Hudson says, "Its vast wealth has been accumulated in less than fifteen years, by speculative manipulations, by bribing legislators, and by distorting law to deny to one man the privileges given to another." This conspiracy began in a deal between the Standard "bosses" and the "kings" of the Pennsylvania, Erie, and New York Central railroads. The purpose was to kill competition, by cornering the whole product of the American people's natural oil, and then charging us double price for it. The deal has been a monstrous success, and there is hardly a crime on the calendar, from murder and arson down to malicious mischief, that has not been perpetrated in carrying out the plan. But the Standard Oil Company, nevertheless, has piled up its hundred million dollars; the railroad pool as much more, probably; while the penalty for fleecing the people, in such ways, is a chair for the oil-man, Mr. Whitney, in President Cleveland's Cabinet, and a bench for the railroad-man, Mr. Stanley Matthews, in the Supreme Court. How wisely we are encouraged to respect our government and our laws !

A bare index of monopolies, about as bad, if not quite so glaring, as the coal and oil conspiracies, would be too long and exasperating for human patience. The

GAS COMPANIES

of the country have as much to answer for, in proportion to size and ability, as the Standard Oil Company. But nearly our whole material substance has been monopolized and "cornered." As with currency, coal, and petroleum, so with wheat, beef, corn, pork, and the rest. Individual and corporate vampires have fastened themselves upon all the great products and commodities of the country, and these are only permitted to reach the people after Robin Hood, Jack Shepard and Dick Turpin have extracted such highwaymen's tolls from them as our excessive innocence and piety enable us to bear without universal insurrection.

Our revolutionary father, old John Adams, said: "Those who own the land will rule the country." He made no exception of his own country, under democratic institutions. And he knew what he was talking about, though he stated only a small part of the case. Slavery always rests on monopoly of ownership. Turn Earth over to one man, and all the rest of mankind would be his dependents —vassals of his will, beggars for his crumbs, if only the poor crumb of a little hard work for low wages. This dependence, this beggary, is simply the latest and most popular condition of human bondage. No one man has yet squatted on the whole United States, and fenced the country in as his private property; but a few men have monopolized pretty nearly all our natural wealth, our natural opportunities, and the capital resulting from both.

ANCIENT SLAVERY conquered men in battle, and then held them to service with chains and whips; but it guaranteed them a living, if only in the interest of the master.

MODERN SLAVERY —the white American slavery of to-day— has conquered the people by taking away their power to earn their bread, and holds them to service by a general combination of great hucksters, commodities at law called attorneys, and the dirtiest breed of politicians that ever tried to put on the airs of "statesmen."

We are tired of our servitude. Some of us understand it thoroughly, and we mean that all shall understand it soon. There is no further use of trying to deceive us through political wind-bags and journalistic weather-cocks. And when some literary shyster of the great monopolies —some Edward Atkinson— would have us mouse around swill-barrels and ash-heaps, to live on what the ignorant rich throw away, we consider him and his figures an insult added to injury. We have seen "the signs of the times," and feel what is coming. It is economic freedom, economic justice. There are two means to that end. One is amelioration for the masses —instant— beginning now; the other is revolution, not long to be postponed.

But present civilization, bad as it is, embodies the best hope, the truest knowledge, if not the happiest condition, that humanity has reached. What we have gained is worth saving, especially what we have gained in our American Republic. We cannot afford to plunge into wreck and chaos, if we can help it. And there is not the slightest need of the plunge, if —well, if we have brains enough to see and do the right thing.

To begin with, here is the question to be settled —the bottom of it. What is the Basic Principle of Ownership, "the higher law of property?" What is the natural and necessary right of individuals in wealth; and what is the natural and necessary right of the people —all mankind— in their general heritage of material things? As strange as the claim may appear until proved, I shall show that this problem has been solved.

THE DEEPEST TRUTH of political economy is the oldest. When Aristotle founded and named the science, he saw, at the first glance of analysis, that all property rests on natural wealth —that natural wealth is the source and raw material of all human productions and possessions. In designating such wealth, he summed it up as THE BOUNTY OF NATURE.

What Aristotle, the first political economist, called "the bounty of nature," Henry George, the best known of the latest political economists, calls "land." Now the bounty of nature —the earth, the water, the air— was not made by any man or stock company. God made it; and made it as the only means of sustaining his creatures made with it. So, necessarily and self-evidently, those creatures have a natural right in that gift. Or, as Jefferson said, "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living."

I am aware that, in this smart age, everything is denied by somebody. NATURAL RIGHTS ARE DENIED—even the right to life. But life is here, all the same, and nature gives it. Has the receiver no right to the gift? If he has the right, it comes from nature with the gift—is a natural right. Mankind have feet. They were made to walk on. Hence, men and women have a natural right to walk on their feet, not on their ears. If society—the State, the government—should cut off our feet, and try to make us walk on our ears, that would be a violation of a natural right—the right to walk as we are constructed to walk. There is all there is of a natural right—the right to act in accordance with a natural fact, a natural law. The business of the State, therefore, is simply to recognize and maintain natural rights. But when some new sage tells us there is no such thing, let us waste no time on him. Let us stop talking and go to the show. The gentleman's feet are in the air. He is walking on his ears.

No: the great doctrine of natural rights—the one doctrine which fairly comprises our American history—is not dead yet, but has just begun to live; and the one natural right at the base of all other natural rights is the right of human beings to their environment. This environment, made with them, provided for them, is the common state, and so estate, of matter. Thus, not by act of Congress or Parliament, but by direct act of the universe itself, in its very physical as well as moral constitution

NATURAL WEALTH IS COMMON WEALTH.

In his matchless book, *Progress and Poverty*, Henry George has illustrated and elaborated this natural relation of man to matter—this bottom fact of political economy—from every aspect. I agree fully with Mr. George, with Mill, Spencer, and the rest of those distinguished thinkers, in their result. And here let me deny a bit. I deny it is merely a "theory." It is a discovery, a law—as much so as the law of gravitation. It is the first section of the

HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY.

In one sense, however, and a very practical one, there is no dissent from it. There is no theory, no form of government, not basing its reason for existence on the claim of standing for the best common interests of the people governed. And there is no theory, no system of political economy, not basing the tenures to property—the laws, the practical ethics of the matter—on the same foundation, the best common interests of the people composing a state, a nation, an epoch. England distinctly asserts, at the present moment, through her most commonplace and conservative authorities, that her whole wealth belongs to her whole people; hence her right to call on every subject to defend it. She merely adds that the methods she sanctions and enforces for the distribution of wealth are the best she knows for the general welfare. We find all that, now-a-days, filtered down into so ordinary a place as the *Cyclopaedia Britannica*.¹ But is not this conclusion precisely the same thing as saying that the people of the world jointly own the world, and that the people of any country jointly own that country, while they utilize and maintain it. We come

1 See, for instance, the article on "Land."

right back to the primary cognition that the right to live implies the right to own.

THIS BASIC PRINCIPLE OF OWNERSHIP,

too, is all in our American Declaration of Independence —and is there in the very best way— as we are forced to see the moment that document is completely analyzed. Our fathers declared that all men are "created equal," and are "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." But, as human life is absolutely dependent on its environment, and, as there can be no liberty, except to die, when this access is cut off, the pursuit of happiness must necessarily include that use and enjoyment of things implied in the word "ownership." Hence "life, liberty," and Property are the "equal rights of man," according to the full import of Thomas Jefferson. But what is EQUALITY ?¹

When Jefferson declared, as the voice of the modern world, that "all men are created equal," it was not with the meaning that every man and woman can lift just five hundred pounds —the interpretation put on us by the dyspeptic stomach of Carlyle, and the "innocuous desuetude" of the poet Tennyson. Washington and Franklin, Jefferson and Paine, were too busy to split hairs with sophists and pettifoggers. All men stand "equal" in the "natural rights" of "life and liberty," but no two men are precisely equal in the capacity to improve and enjoy those endowments. That is THE AMERICAN TENET, as every intelligent American understands it.

Now precisely the same thing is true of man's natural relation to property. All men are "equal" in the "natural right" of access to the world's wealth —the original bounty of nature, and the improvements that mankind as a whole have made upon their inalienable, indefeasible reality. But individual men can employ and improve that wealth only in accordance with individual capacity. In the distribution of wealth, therefore, under the natural relation of man to matter, all men are not unqualifiedly entitled to an *equal share* in property, but to an equitable share; and an equitable share is an equal share, *according to ability, industry, and economy*. There is THE HIGHER LAW OF PROPERTY in full.

Theoretically, even now, it is pretty well recognized. We have seen how it lies implicitly in our Declaration of Independence. "Scientific socialism," so called, re-declares it, in demanding all capital for the commonwealth, and then "returns according to deeds" for individuals. Communism —or common wealth and distribution according to "needs"— comes indirectly to the same thing; for the one need of needs in developing this earth is the property-tools to do it; and it cannot be done unless these tools go with the capacity to use them.

1 Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, somewhat recently, and altogether pertinently, sought the answer to this question in his fulmination against the teachings of Henry George. If his Grace desires the complete analysis of equality, in reference to political economy and the institutions of the United States, I must be pardoned for presenting him with that slight token of my esteem, right here.

On the other hand, I am happy to see that our hardest-headed business men have set up the higher law of property as their special creed. In a controversy, some three years ago, with Mr. John Swinton, Chauncey Depew, as the exponent of Vanderbilt, took for his fundamental postulate the assertion that all men should be started in life with an equal chance for the accumulation of wealth, and should then be permitted to enjoy the fruits of different abilities and labors unquestioned and unmolested.

Again, that eminent stock-philosopher, Mr. Jay Gould, has expressed the same sentiment. He did so, for instance, very emphatically, in the spring of 1886, while laying down the requirements of integrity, honor and justice, to Mr. Powderly, of the Knights of Labor.

So the Constitutional fathers, the social philosophers, the dreamers, the "cranks," the financiers, and possibly some of the rascals, stand behind me for authority. It is hard for any of them not to accept what is simply the Golden Rule carried into economics. But none of these gentlemen know, practically, what to do with it. Besides, some of the best of them, in their way —like Mr. Depew— entertain the great truth very superficially, and don't really wish to mean too much of what they say. And they have no conception that what they urge, in a general way, as a handy bit of economic piety, speciously advanced by the rich in self-defense, has been thought out into a complete and connected system.

So far I have stated THE LOGOS OF OWNERSHIP only as ethics. But nothing is more simple and easy than to convert it into mathematics —after seeing how.

The pivot on which this transformation turns is fixed, too, in nature. It is the fact of death.

Fortunately, men cannot take this world with them into the next. When they lie down in the grave, their stocks and bonds, their money and mortgages, go to other persons. The entire wealth of mankind reverts from one generation to another EVERY FIFTY YEARS, or according to the average death-rate.¹

According to the latest vital statistics of Europe and America, compiled by Dr. J.H. Billings, the present death-rate in the United States is 18 to the thousand, annually. In

England and Wales.	20.5
Sweden.	18.1
Belgium.	22.4
German Empire.	26.1
Austria.	29.6

It was not one of "the mistakes of Moses" to institute his "jubilee," with the general re-distribution of Hebrew land, on the basis of half a century [Leviticus 25:23-34]. That grand squaring of accounts, and redivision, for

1 "The average death-rate in thirty-three cities of the United States, in the year 1879, was 20.11 in one thousand; and, in the year 1880, it was 22.20 or a little over two per cent." —*Ownership and Sovereignty*, by Reeves Smith.

each generation, of what was then the great part of all wealth, shows that the duration of human life was about the same, four thousand years ago, as we find it on our tables of mortality to-day. By their "jubilee," the children of Israel attempted to equalize natural wealth among all the people, but to leave the products of labor in the hands that sowed and reaped them. What an ancient, barbarous people did by the rule of thumb, a modern, civilized people can do by the rule of three.¹

It is a fact, then, and a fact that becomes self-evident as soon as considered, that the world's wealth, or a nation's wealth, is simply A REVERSION, extending substantially through fifty years. But, if the whole wealth of every generation is constantly reverting to the next, on the average of fifty years, just one-fiftieth of all wealth is constantly reverting in one year. This one-fiftieth is TWO PER CENT.

Is it not perfectly clear, therefore, that an annual tax of two per cent, on the full value of all property, collected by society, and expended for the common good of society, would effect complete DEMOCRACY OF OWNERSHIP ? — would give, with each and every year, to each and every child born under the system, an equal share in all the opportunities and advantages of life ?

This equation has been denied, so far as I know to date, by just one man in America—not a mathematician, but an editor. I am looking to him now for the total destruction of arithmetic. Mr. David Reeves Smith, who appears to have first stated the basic law of ownership in its exact and complete proportions, and to have wrought out the true method of applying it,* has termed this application "THE DEATH-RATE TAX and the revenue from it he has termed "Natural Rent."²

It is a perpetual ground-rent on all assets, due the whole people as a common fund, for the proportional use, by individuals, of the general heritage. By this birthright, death-rate tax, modern society can accomplish, mathematically and definitely, what all ancient nations accomplished approximately, by periodical re-division of their general capital, land—as in Judea; or by government holding of such capital, with no individual tenures—as in Egypt.³ For such were the two property forms of primeval civilization.

1 Those ancient people were NOT barbarous, they were more civilized than americans. These laws were copied from the people who lived, in a civilized fashion, in Ugarit, and in the city-states of Mesopotamia, with a priest-king as their head of state and manager of affairs.

* In his *Ownership and Sovereignty: An Outline of the True Republic*.

2 Ye discovered yesterday's news and now present it as some brand-new invention and want to put a copy-right on it—like colonel Saunders discovered fried chicken and seven secret ingredients.

3 An excellent, accessible, American book, full of facts in the direction here summarized, has been published during the past year by Scribner's Sons, under the title of *Labor, Land and Law*. I have several times referred to it. The author, William A. Phillips [Salina Kansas, studied law admitted to the bar]—a well-known writer, and for several terms a prominent member of Congress—appears to have devoted the best part of his life to this work.

"Natural Rent" expresses, annually, constantly and perpetually, the exact common right of all society in all property. It would equalize, instantly, constantly and forever, not human wealth, but the natural opportunities to procure it; instantly, constantly and forever leaving, after that, every individual to work out his own pecuniary condition according to his own will and power.

BUT
WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH THE
COMMON FUND ?

How is it to be expended or redistributed for the common good ? Its being a common fund implies and settles, at the start, that it is not to be directly and equally lumped out to individuals, that idlers and spendthrifts may squander it. It belongs to no one in that way. The first legitimate use of any common public fund is to pay government expenses. The next use of it is to secure common advantages for the whole people. Suppose the property of the United States to-day is 50 BILLIONS OF DOLLARS. Then the people, as a whole, are entitled this year to just 1,000 MILLIONS OF IT.

This is the amount of their birthright, death-rate tax. Figuring, in round numbers, the expenses of government, national, state and municipal —"stealings" not included— may be set down at 500 millions, or about one per cent, of the principal. All government expenses paid, the people, therefore, at this hour, are entitled to the remaining one per cent —500 MILLIONS OF DOLLARS— for redistribution. This redistribution would necessarily take the form, direct or indirect, of furnishing employment to citizens without capital, at the highest market rates, as an equivalent for the *just monopoly* of their direct equal birthright in the capital of their generation. For property will always have to go out into private hands unequally, that those best able to increase its value—for the community as well as for themselves— can take as much as they can make the most of. But the distribution of the death-rate tax, in wages for work, will constantly restore the equilibrium. And it will make no difference what kind of work is done by those employed, so it pays for itself in the production of new and actual wealth, and unloads the dice now played in the "skin game," called competition ! While society's common capital is monopolized by the few, with no offset for the many, there is **no such thing as actual competition**. The word is a lie.

It is, of course, the principle of redistribution, and the direct logical application of it, that is here stated, rather than any fixed, invariable method. In constantly turning over to the people their birthright share in wealth, it would not be necessary for the government, as a government, to employ a single man otherwise than at present, unless it were best to do so in the interest of freedom as well as economics. For instance, one of the greatest needs of the American people to-day is to live in comfortable homes. Suppose the people's fund, above government expenses, should be expended for the next

five years in premiums to capitalists, for building a certain style of house best adapted to the wants of the average family. The multiplication of such houses all over the land would in itself alone employ all the floating labor of the period, at the same time making homes plenty, hence cheap and easily rented or purchased at their proper value. If two or three billions of dollars were thus applied, there would be no further need of talking about an "unearned increment" in rent. But there are hundreds of ways in which the distribution could take place without the least tendency to injure political democracy, or to erect any system of socialism. There is no trouble about that, except in the heads, or rather the pockets, of our new slaveholders. Besides, the people would have to decide, by their vote, how their birthright-fund should be used for them.

But the indirect result of the death-rate tax would probably be greater than even the direct result. How many millions of dollars —how many hundreds of millions— now lie in the safety-vaults of New York and Boston, loafing at an interest of two to four per cent., because it is safer for money to loaf than to be out at work. Put an annual tax of two per cent. on these loafing hoards, and see how nimble they would become, in order to save themselves ! They would rush out into the hands of enterprise and labor like the other sort of loafer to a free tap. They would weep and wail for active investment. Never again would work, the sire of wealth, stand, hat in hand, begging a job of his own offspring. The two would be partners —would have to be. The more one could do for the other, the more each would do for himself.

UNIVERSAL CO-OPERATION would be established at one bound.

MY CLAIM for the higher law of property is now evident, I presume, in its full scope. It gives a centre, a head, to the scattered filaments of political economy, and elevates it to a humane and coherent science. The law establishes the most definite of results. It points out exactly, in dollars and cents, to the people of any country, their natural, God-given right and share in the wealth of that country, at any time and at all times, with the way to get it; and this, too, without disrupting society, or even disturbing its time-honored tenures to property. To my mind, such a law is worthy the sword of Mohammed, if need be, yet is really conservative, and only formulates for actual practice the moral basis on which all nations rest their polity and their right to govern.

In an age when the human mind prides itself on being a scatter-brain organ, squatting everywhere on a multitude of particulars, and then crawling to their focus by "induction" —when this game of snail-tag is alone recognized as "science"— it is almost impossible for the average thinking creature —as man still is in a way— to hold himself together long enough to receive an

impress from any great general principle. The basic law of ownership simply photographs to thought a universal relation between man and matter. It is therefore precisely as actual as man and matter themselves, or as space and time, though even the so-called "scientific" may easily mistake it for a personal whim.¹

Moreover, 'tis the logical and mathematical end of Aristotle, of the Gracchi, of Quesnay, of Herbert Spencer, of Henry George. Its origin reaches back thousands of years, and one view of it got nearly seventy thousand votes, the other day, in the keen, commercial metropolis of the United States. For, as I have already stated and demonstrated, I stand on precisely the same principle, the same premise, as my friend, Henry George, though I am forced to a different conclusion.

When Mr. George says "land," he explains that he means natural wealth, the bounty of nature, or, to use his own words, "all natural forces and opportunities," the "whole material universe outside of man himself." And he holds that this "land" is common property, to which every human being has an equal right. He does not define equality, but he maintains that human beings are entitled to the results of their labor in accordance with what they do—that these results of labor are strictly private property.

All this is certainly true—even self-evidently true. But the difficulty with Mr. George is that his method and end are not the logical deduction from his beginning. His finality is a land tax, bearing all public burdens. But he would not tax land as he defines land. If "land" is natural wealth—the bounty of nature—the whole material universe outside of man himself—then Mr. George's land tax, which is only a ground tax, a mine tax, and the like, is not a land tax at all. For his "land"—natural wealth—is not merely to be found in farms and building sites, but has gone into houses and ships, and everything else, as the raw material out of which they are made. Yet all this "land," all this natural wealth, all this raw material worked up in the products of labor, Mr. George would exempt from taxation. He would not tax a lump of gold, because labor has picked it up and washed it. He would tax the hole out of which it was dug.²

1 A while ago I had the honor of reading the first hasty draft of this paper before "The Institute of Social Science," in New York City, the learned and distinguished Mr. Park Godwin presiding. In a humorous and genial way, he was inclined to class the higher law of property among "nostrums." But presently he trotted out a nostrum of his own—graduated taxation, or rather appropriation, of legacies—just about big enough to make a mouth for my bottle. So I lost no faith in Smith's economic elixir.

2 It may be said (by some innocent lawyer, perhaps) that a great many words have more than one definition, and hence Mr. George need not adhere to his general definition of land when he comes to the special doctrine of his land tax. But such a plea would be mere sophistry; for the only right and reason on which Mr. George rests his sole land tax is that land is nature's common gift to all mankind. But if he taxes land as nature's gift, he must certainly tax the whole gift, not a part of it, if he is to assert the people's right in it, and if he is to be logical. The truth is, that Mr. George's use of the word "land" is utterly unscientific, exceptional, and misleading. "Land" does not properly mean "nature's bounty" or "natural wealth." The word is not big enough to cover the thing. Mr. George uses it as a bright soap-

But to make sure that we do no injustice to so great and true a man as Mr. George, let us take his own illustration —his favorite one. He would not tax a house; he would tax the plot under it. Why ?

Well, land is given to all men equally, and the usufruct or rent of it should be used for their common benefit. This is the main reason. But he comes to the same point from another very significant view. The piece of ground had no value at the start —say, when the country was new, and land could be had for the asking. The first occupant put labor on it, and gave it utility —made it supply his wants. But even then the land itself had no value, as long as the next acres had no claimant. The land got its value, therefore —like the Astor lands of our American Gotham— by the general coming of society around it, creating an "unearned increment."

True. But the house also got its value in precisely the same way. What value would attach to that, without this same presence of population —this same influx of society in general ? While a house stands alone, and there is no demand for it except in the uses of its occupant, it has no more value than the land under it. But as soon as other houses are built up around it, then every brick in the first —yes, and every stroke of labor that went to make the brick or to put it in place— gathers an "unearned increment." Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as value without society. Value is never intrinsic and independent, but always presupposes society, if only two persons —one who has something the other wants. Or, in the familiar terms of business as well as political economy, "the value of anything depends on supply and demand." If we are to insist, therefore, in Mr. George's way, on the common right to unearned increments, then a house, or the very coat on one's back, is common property, by the same principle as a piece of ground.

But we have seen that, according to Mr. George's definition of land as "nature's bounty," a house, or any other structure of human handiwork, is land itself, as far as original materials are concerned. These have all been taken off the earth or out of it. They are component parts of land, improved by labor. Whether timber, stone or iron, all of them are "land" in their basic quality of natural wealth as the common gift to mankind.

A tree, wild in the forest, is certainly a piece of God's land-bounty —the trunk as much as the roots or the soil around them. But when the tree has been hewn by labor and has become the log of a cabin, has the bounty of nature all gone out of it because a man has cut it down and fashioned it over ? If there was the right of common property in the tree, is there not still some common right of property in the log ? How does the common interest all depart from the tree now that labor has appropriated it to individual use ? Can the bounty of nature be thus purloined, the moment it is improved, merely because labor does the purloining ? Henry George's land-tax says it can.

bubble. He blows it up, for generalization, to the full scope of Aristotle's grand phrase: then deflates it for taxation to its natural size. After a while a bubble so blown must burst.

BUT LET US SEE.

When the house-builder has cut down the tree, suppose he has left the stump. Then the farmer comes along. He digs out the stump, and improves the ground by making a useful excavation in it—for a cellar, perhaps. Now what better right has the house-builder to the tree he has cut than the farmer to the land he has excavated? Both the log and the cellar are the IMPROVED BOUNTY OF NATURE—the two ends of it. If so, both ends should be taxed, and for exactly the people's common right in them.

In 1882, according to the tables of Mulhall, the property of the United States stood in

Land.	\$10,750,000,000
Houses.	13,900,000,000
Railways.	5,450,000,000
Cattle.	1,890,000,000
Sundries.	9,205,000,000
Total.	\$41,195,000,000

So our land value in this country is not much more than one-quarter of all values. Yet Mr. George would make this one-quarter of wealth bear all the public burdens of the other three-quarters, in addition to its own. Every practical business man knows instinctively that such a tax must be wrong, though he may not be able to touch bottom in his objections. The fact is, it would be a huge monopoly of the manufacturer and wage-worker against the farmer.

Still Worse, it would not take out of individual riches, largely heaped up in mammoth accumulations of personal property, anything like the people's share in them. No: society has a common interest, not only in the ground, but in all property whatever—for the reason that all property is either the raw bounty of nature or that same bounty of nature modified by labor. Individual labor can get no title to common property by merely taking it and improving it.

Moreover, if natural wealth is the common wealth of all mankind, it belongs, not to one generation but to all generations. The unborn have their equal rights reserved in it. Hence the common title is inalienable and indefeasible. No part of the general heritage can rightfully be turned over to individuals except while they live. Thus THE WORLD'S WEALTH IS THE COMMON CAPITAL OF EVERY GENERATION.

But, on the other hand, it is just as clear that society has no right to take individual improvements—the products of any man's labor—without paying the full value for them. And there is no need of taking them at all, if the people's constant right in wealth—their usufruct, or rent—is annually deducted from all distributed property. In that case, both the common capital and the individual improvements on it can remain with the holders, and their property will be nothing more nor less than the true compensation for their work on it.

This Inevitable Sequence from man's common right to nature's bounty is of such striking importance that I must be pardoned for repeating the argu-

ment in the form of an almost kindergarten illustration. Society, the United States, say Mrs. Columbia, says to Mr. Toilson:

"Here is my farm —my lands, forests, mines and water-powers— my whole people's natural wealth. Take a piece of it —any kind you like— as big as you, with your special tastes and talents, can make the most of; for that is the end, they say, of property —to be worked up to the best advantage.

"Now I expect you to have your living, according to the general right of all my sons and daughters, out of that segment of my common stock and your work on it. You may have just as good a living as justice to you and to me permits. Consume what is fair. Go to Paris and London, if you can brighten your brains in that way, and be of better service to your pursuits. Build just as good a house as your special organism requires for the best results to both of us. I let you have your slice of my estate for that purpose. But you take it, you know, *TO USE FOR LIFE* I can't sell it to you, out and out; for I find that the structure of the universe makes such a dicker unconstitutional. So I lease you an outfit, and when you get through with it and 'go over to the summer-land,' I will take my pay in the improvements you leave on the original realty. In some way, it appears, I must distribute all such values, hereafter, among my people —every generation of them— in order to give my citizens an equal start in life. That is the trend of democracy, as things look now. I suppose it will have to go through, in spite of Bismarck, and Ouida, and His Honor the Mayor of New York."

"Yes, Mrs. Columbia," replies Mr. Toilson, "it will have to go through, as sure as you live. But let us consider your Business Proposition.

"It is perfectly fair, provided I should always be honest and faithful. But don't you think you leave me too much discretion in my expenditures —my consumption? Then why should your other citizens wait till I am dead before I pay back anything? Let me take my piece of your common capital, and go to work on it. I shall want it fifty years —that is, for my life-time. But next year, at this date, let me drop around and hand you currency for one-fiftieth of what I am then worth. Let me do the same thing every year. Then, at the end of the fifty years, instead of taking away my land and improvements — my capital and additions— which will be paid for in full— let the holding, as it stands, go to my boys and girls, under the same condition I had it.

"You perceive, Mrs. Columbia, that the whole average value of my estate —all the property I can ever hold— will revert to you, for equal distribution, just the same as though you should revoke all wills and appropriate all legacies. The only difference will be that you will give my heirs the benefit that may arise, not from any monopoly of your capital but from any possible superiority (beyond the average) of my labor; while I, at the same time, shall be apt to be much more economical than in other circumstances. If I don't really need to go to Paris and London, or to live in a palace, you will not be charged with such pretty perquisites."

Mrs. Columbia, of course, has the "last word" in this dialogue:

"Friend Toilson, I think I see the point. You would utterly abolish all my present hop-skip-and-jump assessors, from one end of the land to the other, with their one-third valuations and the like, and their taxes on a part of property. You would have one tax, and only one—a strictly *ad valorem* tax on all assets, in accordance with the average death-rate. That would be the regular charge against every body, for holding and using the common capital, and the amount would always be in proportion to the holding. The impost, indeed, might be called an EQUALITY TAX; for it would constantly equalize my whole common wealth, opportunities and advantages, among all my citizens. This equality tax would be chiefly paid by the rich, and would go chiefly to the poor, not in charity, but as their unqualified right. It would be my fund to guarantee the steady production of new wealth, and to compensate, in wages for honest work, the non-capitalist members of society, for any monopolies necessitated against them by the difference of ability among citizens to use wealth effectively.¹ Deduct this constant equality tax from all assets—thus withdrawing from individuals, in proportion to their wealth, the whole average interest of all the people in all property—then the assets themselves, however distributed, would constantly represent the exact value of the natural ability, industry and economy of the possessors. In other words, a man's property would then stand for the true wages of his labor, paid to him by the community, IN THE SHAPE OF HIS PROPERTY ITSELF.

"The arrangement will raise a dreary howl among my heavy sharks and foxy tax-dodgers. They will say the distribution never can be made—into any pockets but their own—without "terrible corruption," and "danger to the Republic." But five or six hundred millions a year; that would be the surplus for redistribution at the start. It is only twice as much as one man, my enterprising Mr. Vanderbilt, left behind him the other day. If my boys can't manage to distribute that sum faithfully—with everybody's eye and vote on them at that—they ought to be turned out of office, and superseded by the girls. Toilson, that 'nostrum' is far-reaching. I will take a bottle, and renovate my system."

THE TRUE PRINCIPLE OF OWNERSHIP

shows how unnecessary would be a revolution—especially in America—for a new distribution of wealth. True, we have no end of thieves—individual and corporate—who have stolen from each other in such a way that only death and sheol can balance their accounts. But as far as rascals go who have cheated the people, the stolen goods are just as valuable to tax as any others.

¹ This monopoly—the unequal distribution of wealth in proportion to the ability "to work it"—is strictly just, as the most "solid" lunkheads in the world claim so vigorously; and it is the only just monopoly that can possibly exist. But even this monopoly would not be just, if no way could be found to preserve it and at the same time to counteract it. In precisely this antithesis (a chip of Hegel at the bottom of political economy) lies the guarantee of the earth's pecuniary development in the largest degree.

And the death-rate tax will instantly give to society all it owns, and all it ought to have in wealth, to-day or any other day, however that wealth may happen to be distributed.

There has been a special cry, of late, against land-monopoly. It has been greatly needed. Anything to open the new horizon ! Anything for a start in the right direction ! But the confiscation of rent, or the nationalization of land, directly or indirectly, in Ireland or anywhere else, is not only wrong but inadequate. This, it seems to me, I have demonstrated.

Again, it is unwise to be too much disturbed by the present concentration of wealth. It will simply be of no consequence who holds property, or how much is held by any person or combination, as soon as society comprehends and adopts SCIENTIFIC TAXATION.

When the chief end of a State —next to yielding prize men and women — is to increase the production of wealth in the interest of all, without halt or stoppage; when labor is guaranteed to the "landless" as a full offset for capital; then labor will be just as good, to have and to hold, as land, or anything else. It will be just as much in demand as any other natural wealth; for labor is, in one sense, natural wealth, of the highest, most valuable kind. Now, we have Lassalle's "iron law of wages" —the laborer reduced to a machine costing only the fuel and repairs to keep him running. But throw into the American market, directly and indirectly, as good, at the start, as a thousand millions of dollars a year, an increasing amount which has got to be used up in employing the expropriated —and which can be thrown against any unjust monopoly the people vote to kill— then what will become of the monopoly and "the iron law of wages ?" History is a junk-shop full of just such traps.

I HAVE devoted the first part of this monograph to showing that what we artlessly call "civilization" is top-heavy with monopolies, and besotted with a new system of virtual slavery. But now I must insist that no one of our great monopolies —whether land, currency, tariff, or transportation— is much worse than another, and that all can be extinguished by a little Popular Intelligence.

Suppose the people's annual rent were put on vacant land —two per cent, of its full value, say at public auction. How long would land be cornered, and held on speculation ? Apply the death-rate tax to banks —to every dollar not a government issue. How piously the "bullion mongers," as Thaddeus Stevens [the bank-lawyer] called them, would invoke the shade of that glorious greenback saint, to forgive their sins and lead them to salvation !

The tariff —well, there would be no tariff for revenue. The people's annual tax would furnish the revenue, as direct taxation always ought to have furnished it, and as the founders of our government would have provided at first, if they had not been obliged to compromise with any number of Beelzebubs as well as chattel slavery. Whatever little end of a tariff might then be

necessary, it would be solely for protection. The protection, too, would doubtless be real, not a swindle.

American railway stocks, as I have said, contain about four thousand millions of dollars in water. A good deal of it has been converted by the growth of the country into healthy blood, or fat. But, so far as it is still water, the death-rate tax would instantly let out that dropsy. The people, too, with their fund in hand, could build a few railways of their own, if desirable. Yet this very fact would render it unnecessary —would throw the old roads open to complete and impartial competition. Once again, there would be no occasion to talk about eight hours for a day's work, with Strikes, Black-Lists, and Boycotting.

The whole business of society, being co-operative, would resolve itself into the production of just as much wealth as possible, under healthful conditions for men, women and children. And with just distribution, how could there ever be any overproduction of general wealth ? President Cleveland's Mr. Whitney, and his confederates of the Standard Oil Company, have a hundred millions or more, to spend on cabinet offices, seats in the Senate, and such fancy goods, because our foolish statutes permit them to make a little private tub of all God's kerosene, and so fleece his whole people out of five or ten cents a gallon on it. If those sleek gentlemen don't have too much property to suit them, under such a deal as that, is there any danger that the rest of us, with no aces and jacks up our sleeves, will ever have too good a "brown-stone front," too much quail-on-toast, too many diamond ear-rings and seal-skin sacques. Overproduction be —blessed !— prayerfully !

It is said that Socialism is now making rapid progress both in Europe and America. Very likely. Socialists are the world's new enthusiasts. Their reform is a religion to them. And they are not dreamers. They have studied their epoch and know how sick it is. They think they have found the only cure. When even American socialism has produced a book like Lawrence Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth," it is time to look around for arguments, not epithets, with which to meet the socialists. If socialism is wrong, let us confront it with the right thing. And it is wrong. Thomas Jefferson still stands for a good deal more wisdom than Karl Marx, though Karl Marx may be a good tonic for Jeffersonian Democracy.

In spite of all protests, provisos and explanations, it can't be dodged that socialism demands substantial, if not technical, equality of wealth — premising, as it does, that the main vocations of life are about equally necessary, and should be about equally rewarded. No doubt the shoemaker is quite as useful as the doctor. But one shoemaker hitches a steam-engine to his bench; another works with a broken awl. One doctor cures you; another kills you. Should they all have —not exactly the same pay ? Socialism does not say that. But should they all have the same pay in proportion to the time

and labor required to fit shoemakers and doctors for their work ? Socialism does say that. In the next breath it says: "Results according to deeds." But it can't get results according to deeds from such a theory, and virtually gives up the attempt.

The reason is plain. The corner-stone of socialism is the proposition that value depends on labor, and that average common labor is the measure of all value. This is true; but the inference from it, that the only difference in the value of labor can be measured by the difference in time required to fit persons for one or another kind of work, is not only not logical and not true, but is utter nonsense. How much extra time, devoted to the average human creature, will measure the value of Parepa's voice, of Angelo's conception of St. Peter's, or even of Worth's taste in fixing frills on a pretty woman ? Yet all these little coruscations of genius and dressmaking are a part of human nature and of human wants. They have value —ordinary commercial value; for human nature must be taken as it is, not as some professor thinks it ought to be. Socialism simply ignores about half, and the best half, of human labor — the labor of taste, of genius, of all natural superiority. It levels not to the base of things as they are, but below the base, to something they are not. It asserts not only that "all men are created equal" —in natural rights— but that all men are born with gifts, so nearly equal that the difference in both the gifts and their results is merely one of a little time and training.

Hence the deduction of socialism that society can establish the value of labor by fiat, instead of the law of supply and demand. For the plan is to reorganize society by a government grouping of all trades and vocations, as postal work is now grouped, and "distributing earnings according to deeds." But who is to decide on the value of the deeds ? Why, the trades, the masses, the government, the State. Thus the socialistic scheme contemplates a monopoly of the dull many against the inspired few, just as the sharp, artful few now possess all sorts of monopolies against the sluggish masses.

Under its present organization, society is like a squint-eyed sneak-thief, who, by cunning legislation, uses taxation, tariffs, com-pot currencies, transportation charters, stock corners, grain corners, hog corners, and every other hidden, cut-purse implement, to pick the pocket of honest, stupid industry. Under the methods of socialism, society would be a half-blind house-breaker, with a dim lantern, boldly helping himself to unappreciated and inestimable jewels, and throwing them into a national pawn-shop, to get a cheap-John fiat on their value.

The truth is —the root of it— there are two kinds of nature's bounty. One is the earth outside of us; the other is the quality, the capacity, inside of us. The outside bounty of nature is given to mankind in common and equally. The inside bounty of nature is given to individuals, separately and unequally. Now I insist that each belongs rigidly to whom it was given, and that the natural fruits of each go with it.

Nor do I forgot the "unearned increments." Society largely makes the individual what he is; and the moment he works up any part of the common

wealth, and population spreads the use of it, that moment the people have all sorts of claims against him for UNEARNED INCREMENTS.

But these all go over into the wealth he accumulates, and the death-rate tax will take them all out of him, all the time, just in proportion to the public right in his estate. Thus the collection and redistribution of a people's natural rent will do, automatically, what socialism would try to do by arbitrary fumbling, and by loading the State with so much machinery that it would be like one of those redressive old knights of the middle ages who couldn't get up or walk in his armor.¹

Comprehensively viewed, the tenures to property have grown up, through the ages, as naturally as accretions of coral. They represent the necessities, the common sense, and the common consent of ages and nations. And the most of these institutions are in themselves right. In our confusion, we don't yet see how to "evolute," as Mr. George Francis Train puts it—how to bring old substances into new forms. Private ownership, bequest and inheritance, money, rent, interest, are all perfectly well-founded in the very structural relations of man to matter. But SOCIETY AS A WHOLE is always the SOVEREIGN LANDLORD AND CAPITALIST, and owns a definite share of all wealth. This share is the PEOPLE'S ABSOLUTE RIGHT.

I have pointed to the fact that every system of taxation, now existing, implies that society owns an interest in private property, and takes such property to pay public expenses. It takes, also, the LIVES of its citizens to protect the commonwealth. But the principle has never been analyzed and understood. The time has come to comprehend and apply it.

The MASSSES OF MANKIND are now beginning to demand comfort for themselves and opportunity for their children, as the price of holding communities together and guarding their wealth. But the masses are always honest and slow. They only want to know what is justly due them, and how to get it with the least trouble. When they have the information, their vote can make the law of our great and their example the American Republic, and their example the LAWS OF NATIONS.

1 Of all the wrong things now before the world as economic remedies, the best, from the practical standpoint, is the "limitation of wealth" by the "graduated taxation," not of incomes (the worst kind of a tax), but of estates. This plan appears to be the offspring of Mr. John H. Keyser, a venerable gentleman of very large information and experience. The graduated taxation of estates, in proportion to their size, if carefully established, would do, approximately and by guess-work, what the death rate tax would do by exact science. But "the limitation of wealth" is not, in itself, either just or desirable. The thing to do is to encourage every individual to accumulate, for himself, all the wealth he can, at the same time taking out of it, for society, exactly what belongs to society—the correct charge against every individual for the assistance and protection which society gives him.

MR. CLARK'S BOOK, "Man's Birthright, or The Higher Law of Property" (Putnam's Sons) has elicited wide comment both in America and Europe. The substance of it has had the honor of translation in France by M. Godin, and has been reproduced also in German. A few comments subjoined:

No one can deny that the problem which Mr. Clark has undertaken to solve is one deserving of the most careful consideration. Every day affords proof of the existence of a sentiment that the laws which govern the creation and distribution of wealth are not satisfactory. — *Boston Herald*.

In this book the author engages with spirit and clearness in a discussion of the question of property. His idea is a modernizing, by the taxation method, of the principle of the Hebrew Jubilee. — *Galveston News*.

Students of political economy will find this essay very interesting. It is written with conviction. — *New York Times*.

His exposition should be read by every student of those "burning questions" which are now engaging the attention of the great economists. — *The Current* (Chicago).

Mr. Clark's book is a most important contribution towards a solution of the grave social questions that are calling loudly for settlement in England to-day, and must soon have a general bearing in this country. — *New York News*.

A remarkable little book has just been written by Mr. Edward Gordon Clark, which is one of the most interesting and novel contributions to economic literature that has appeared in this country. — *Albany Evening Journal*.

In regard to style —the packing and pointing of pure English— Mr. Clark was long ago pronounced a master by the giant-master, Wendell Phillips. "Such a weapon as this finished, full, terse, admirable style, so winning one cannot stop reading, no matter what the subject ! I envy you !" Those are the words addressed by Wendell Phillips to the author of "Man's Birthright." — *John Swinton's Paper*.

Mr. Clark writes apparently with the greatest confidence that he has found a solution of the problem of the regulation and distribution of wealth, and without doubt there is force in his main propositions. — *The Index* (Boston).

I am glad your book is coming, and wish it every success. If in anything you can show that I am in error I will accept the amendment. — *Henry George*.

Mr. Clark certainly manages to show pretty well on what a brittle staff of argument Henry George leans. — *New York Times*.

In the progress of the argument to sustain the position taken by "Man's Birthright," the reasoning of Mr. George's famous book is severely criticised, and in some instances —material ones, too— overturned. To those who are in accord with Mr. George's premises and at variance with the outcome of his work, "Man's Birthright" furnishes tenable ground to stand on — *Justice* (organ of the Anti Monopolists, New York).

We believe that Henry George's theory is bad, and we thank the author of "Man's Birthright" for declaring it "simply a vast monopoly of the manufacturer and the wage-worker against the farmer." — *Winsted Press* (Connecticut)

Several years ago I read Henry George's book, and it came to me like a revelation. Its merit is in setting forth the social problem so as to be understood. I have felt that his remedy was defective, inadequate, and impracticable. I was thus prepared to appreciate your book, and I have been intensely interested in it. I believe your principle is the true one. — *Rev. Dr. K.C. Anderson*.

The book impresses me very strongly. It seems to me that it is the word that was needed to be said to clear the perplexity and obscurity of this subject. It seems to move of itself, like a proposition in Euclid. —*Rev. R. Heber Newton.*

Mr. Clark has attempted, in *Man's Birthright*, to solve the problem of a more equitable distribution of property than now prevails. He describes with great force and eloquence the injustice of the present system. He is quite as brilliant and vigorous as Henry George, but his solution of the problem is different. While he does not believe that any one has a right to monopolize the forces of nature, he does not advocate land nationalization. While he believes that every one has a right to all land, he is not in favor of its acquisition by the government. He does not assail vested rights or preach communism. He would simply subject all property to what he calls a ground-rent, representing the claim that a generation has to all existing property. —*Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.*

The death-rate theory of taxation seems to be the only one that can satisfactorily solve the problems of political economy; and notwithstanding the array of illustrious names which have contributed to that science, we apprehend that none of their discoveries will ever rank in importance with the revelation afforded by this vigorous, lucid and concise statement of *The Higher Law of Property*. —*Troy Evening Standard.*

Internationalism; no nation, no country

Adam Weishaupt in 1787

Nachtrag von weitem Originalschriften:

"The first stage in the life of the whole human race is savagery, rough nature, in which the family is the only society, and hunger and thirst are easily satisfied, in which man enjoys the two most excellent goods, Equality and Liberty, to their fullest extent. In these circumstances health was his usual condition. Happy men, who were not yet enough enlightened to lose their peace of mind and to be conscious of the unhappy mainsprings and causes of our misery, love of power envy illnesses and all the results of imagination.

"As families increased, means of subsistence began to lack, the nomadic life ceased, property was instituted, men established themselves firmly, and through agriculture families drew near each other, thereby language developed and through living together men began to measure themselves against each other, etc. But here was the cause of the downfall of freedom; equality vanished. Man felt new unknown needs.

"Out of egoism and family spirit, there arose Localism, Patriotism.

"With the origin of nations and peoples, the world ceased to be a great family, a single kingdom: the great tie of nature was torn. Nationalism took the place of human love. Now it became a virtue to magnify one's fatherland at the expense of whoever was not enclosed within its limits, now as a means to this narrow end it was allowed to despise and outwit foreigners or indeed even to insult them. This virtue was called Patriotism.

"Diminish Patriotism, then men will learn to know each other again as such, their dependence on each other will be lost, the bond of union will widen out."

David Reeves,

Ownership & Sovereignty

1883.

chapter XIX.

RATIONAL TARIFF.

Primitive humanity, or humanity in the savage state, is, socially, in its most disintegrated condition. "Every man for himself" is the necessary law, making selfishness the virtue of savagism, except to the extent that selfishness in the savage is modified by the natural instinct to provide for his mate or his progeny.

Experience soon teaches the savage that "union is strength," either for offensive or defensive purposes, and the process of integration or crystallization begins with the formation of tribes or communities, which in process of time consolidate into states and nations, large and small. At the present time nearly all the earth's surface is divided among the several nations, each nation claiming as exclusively its own the portion allotted to it.

Patriotism is, from the stand point of national interests, what selfishness is to the savage. Selfishness, in the savage, impels him to grasp at anything which he thinks will benefit himself, without a thought as to the rights of others; and patriotism, in a nation, impels that nation to take care of its own interests without regard to the interests of other nations.¹

Exactly as, and for the very same reason that, individuals have united to form small tribes and communities which have grown and consolidated into states and nations, so will all nations finally become united in one, "The Universal Republic," under the sovereignty of the people.² The Universal Republic is at present impracticable, in exactly the same sense, and for the same reason, that it is always impracticable for humanity, at any stage of its developement, to do that which requires more knowledge, skill, experience and appliances than humanity is at that stage possessed of.

While nations continue to maintain their political independence, patriotism will be considered a virtue, and every nation will seek its own agrandizement without any very scrupulous regard for the welfare of other nations. Such being the rule governing the policy of the several nations, any one nation that would make itself an exception, by attempting a more unselfish policy, would be injured, and perhaps destroyed, by the more unscrupulous. No nation can safely rely on simply defensive operations or measures to protect its own, nor can it afford to be generous or liberal in its dealings with other nations, beyond the degree which the general policy and practice of nations at the time permit. Nevertheless, in the affairs of nations, as in the affairs of individuals, an enlightened patriotism in the former, as an enlightened selfishness in the latter, will discover that the welfare of each depends on the general welfare, and will govern itself accordingly.

As long as the several nations, as a rule, enact such laws relating to international commerce as seem to each one the best for itself, without regard to the interests of others, self protection will make it necessary for each nation to conform very nearly to that rule. If the general policy is faulty, all will be likely to suffer thereby, however much the stronger and more fortunate may appear to prosper at the expense of their rivals and competitors.

As long as the several nations, as a rule, enact such laws relating to international commerce as seem to each one the best for itself, without regard to the interests of others, self protection will make it necessary for each nation to conform very nearly to that rule. If the general policy is faulty, all will be likely to suffer thereby, however much the stronger and more fortunate may appear to prosper at the expense of their rivals and competitors.

1 You learned this from Weishaupt.

2 Left to their own devices, the people would never organize a world government ! Someone has to organize this world republic and force it on the people. "Sovereignty of the people" in a universal republic ??? Are you smoking something and dreaming ?! People will be no more sovereign in a world government as they are sovereign in the U.S. Government. Where did you get the idea that the people of this planet should live under a one-world government ???

We have seen, in our discussion of revenue, that no nation can justly impose a duty on either imports or exports simply for the purpose of obtaining a revenue from its citizens. It may, however, impose such duties as a means of obtaining a revenue from other nations, if such a patriotic proceeding is otherwise justifiable; or duties may be justly imposed, when necessary, as an expedient for regulating foreign commerce, in which case the "incidental revenue" would be by no means objectionable.

Free trade between nations means the abolition of all duties, whether on exports or imports, —that exchanges of tangible and transportable articles of value between the several nations should be as free from restrictions of any kind as are such exchanges now between the several states of the American Union. Free-trade is justifiable only when such a union exists, and will be justifiable between nations only when national independence is abolished in the establishment of the Universal Republic. Free-trade would enrich the wealthy and governing classes of thickly populated and old countries, like England, at the expense and to the serious injury of the inhabitants of more thinly populated and new countries, like the United States. It would tend to concentrate the wealth of the world in the most densely populated centers, and place it in the hands of the few, while the masses of all countries would rapidly be reduced to a dead level of poverty and degradation. Free-trade, by drawing the natural, material, tangible, basic elements of wealth from nations like those of America and Africa, where such elements most abound and labor is comparatively scarce, to the older nations of Europe, where such elements are comparatively scarce and labor cheap and abundant, would cause the wealth of the world to concentrate in the European centers of population. Moreover, the existing methods of distribution in the several nations would place the wealth of each nation in the hands of the few. The raw materials, or natural elements of wealth, received by the old from the new nations, would be improved and modified by the labor of the European many, for the benefit of the European few, while the nations of Africa and America would be reduced to the condition of impoverished and servile agriculturalists, miners, and the like. In short, all other than European nations, ignoring Asia and Russia, would, after a few generations of unrestricted free-trade, and with the present laws of distribution, have about the same relation to European nations that Ireland now has to England.

Free-trade being impracticable or undesirable, restrictions are necessary. Free-trade is objectionable to everybody but the aristocracy of Europe, because free-trade would draw off to Europe the natural wealth of other nations, and return much less to them than it would take away. That part of all wealth which is the object of international commerce consists of material elements or things, improved or not improved by labor. New countries, so called, are, generally speaking, those which have large quantities of the unimproved material elements in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Old countries, so called, are those in which the natural supply of the unimproved material elements of transportable wealth have become scarce in proportion

to the number of inhabitants. Free-trade would draw off the natural elements from the new countries, and bring back in exchange a part only of the quantity exported, —this part being improved by cheap labor. Evidently, this process would rapidly and surely exhaust the supply of the natural material elements in the new countries, and therewith destroy their ability to buy manufactured wealth from the old countries, leaving the new countries poverty-stricken and powerless.

It is claimed by the advocates of free trade that as soon as "raw materials" should become scarce, manufactories would start up in the new countries, and the things required would be produced at home, because they could then be produced more cheaply than they could be imported. But experience completely refutes this theory, owing to the fact that the business of exporting natural wealth, —the products of the forests, mines and soil,— is, while unrestricted, so much more inviting to whatever of capital exists in a new country, that no other business is engaged in while there is any thing left to export. Owing also to the fact that capitalists, who accumulate wealth in that way, find it much more agreeable to spend their fortunes in the old than in the new countries, which they have contributed their efforts to impoverish, they go to Europe to spend their money. Therefore it would always happen that, with unrestricted free-trade, the mines, forests, and lands of new countries would finally become exhausted, and the country be abandoned, as are exhausted mining regions in our day. Or, if the soil were so inexhaustibly fertile, and the climate so propitious, as to defy the stupid and selfish greed and ingenuity of men, in their efforts to make Earth uninhabitable, an agricultural population would remain, which free-trade could no farther impoverish; and they would be prosperous or miserable, according to the fertility of the soil, their distance from the centers of population, and the character of their government.

The wealth exported is always the price of the wealth imported; and, with free trade, exports and imports would be equal in value: —except that, as a country gets poor, its wealthy citizens abandon it, and take their wealth with them; and except, also, that the most valuable kinds of wealth, like gold and precious stones, are sent out of a country whenever war or revolution threatens, and the goods exported in such times are sold in foreign countries, and neither money nor goods are imported in their place; and except again, that the cost of transportation absorbs a considerable percentage of the value of the goods transported from one country to another, which percentage may affect the "balance of trade" considerably, one way or the other. Ignoring these exceptions, and assuming that exports and imports are equal in value, even then, with free trade, a new country would be getting poorer every day in those basic and most essential elements of wealth which are generally referred to as natural elements.

The value of the several articles exported represents their relative importance or desirability and scarcity among other nations, and consequently

represents the purchasing-power or capital of the new nations, —that is, the ability of the new nations to buy of the old.

The value of the several articles imported by a nation represents their comparative utility or usefulness to that nation. Exports are important exactly in proportion to their value, while imports are important in proportion to their utility or usefulness rather than to their value.

The most direct and natural restriction that a rationally governed new country would impose on foreign commerce, would be one that would check the quantity of exports in such a way that their value would be less than the value of the imports.

Uniform *ad valorem* duties on exports would be exactly the kind of check and restriction required for this purpose. If the duty on exports were forty-one per cent. *ad valorem*, old nations would only buy of the new nations such things as were worth in money forty-one per cent. more to the old than to the new nation, and citizens of the new nation would have the satisfaction and advantage of buying such things nearly thirty per cent. cheaper than the citizens of old nations could; that is, the citizens of the old nation would pay \$1.41 for what could be bought by citizens of the new nation for \$1.00.

The effect of the export duty would be to increase in foreign countries the price of the articles exported, and to cheapen the same articles at home, and also to decrease the quantity exported; but articles exported by new countries are things of prime necessity to old countries, while articles exported by old countries are things which new countries can produce themselves or do very well without: therefore old countries would continue to buy largely of new countries whatever the export duties might be, and it would never be for the interests of the European aristocracy to impose a similar duty on their exports, and they would be compelled to sell cheap and buy dear.

If all nations should resort to the same kind of a tariff, —that is, should impose an *according-to-value* duty on all exports and no duties on imports,—international commerce would undoubtedly be somewhat decreased, but no nation would be consumed for the benefit of another nation, and every nation would export exactly what it could best afford to spare, and which would be of the greatest benefit to the nation receiving it. The result of such a rational tariff would be that every nation adopting it would buy cheap and sell dear; would buy what it most required, and sell what it could best do without. Every nation adopting such a tariff would make the most of its own natural resources, and be perfectly protected from the rapacity of other nations. If all nations should adopt the same kind of a tariff, every nation would make the most of its own resources, and international commerce would be carried on for the benefit of all nations and the injury of none.

If the proper, rational and correct method of restricting international commerce, by a new nation, in its own interests, is by an *advalorem* tax on exports, while imports are admitted duty free, how much worse than free trade, how perfectly unreasonable, how insane, is the tariff of the United

States, which averages about 41 per cent. *according-to-value* duties on imports, while the exports are pushed out of the country duty free !

The advocates of this inexpressibly absurd tariff assert that, if a nation sells more than it buys, it is getting rich; and consequently they encourage the sale and exportation of that very wealth which European nations *must* buy of us, and which makes them rich. These insane advocates of this diabolical tariff insist on forcing the sale of our wealth at whatever prices Europe cares to give, thus keeping us dependent on a European market in which we are obliged to sell. To compel us to buy less than we sell, the entrance of wealth into our country is checked, and in part prohibited, by duties on imports, which amount on the average to forty-one per cent. *advalorem*. It is claimed that, when we are thus compelled to sell more than we buy, the "balance of trade is in our favor," and that that balance will be paid us in gold.

In the practical workings of this theory, we have been, for about one hundred years, steadily sending off to Europe as much as possible of that bountiful supply of natural wealth which should have enabled the United States to keep all Europe at its feet. We have received, in exchange, the products of European labor, so called; that is, small quantities of natural or material elements made valuable by labor, —worked up into articles of consumption, largely articles of luxury, which, being consumed or worn out, are gone forever, leaving a worthless, or nearly worthless residue.

Only a very small part of the time have we had the much coveted "balance of trade" in our favor. During such intervals, of course, "gold has flowed in;" but, somehow or other, in some manner which the admirers of that "balance" have failed to explain, the gold very soon flows out again, and we find ourselves without either money or goods, with the masses in a miserable condition after each outflow, and more and more nearly approaching the poverty of the people of European countries.

Now, the sane and business-like method, in this matter, would be to get a good price for our goods; sell exactly what we can best spare, and what other people most want; and buy cheap all that we require of other nations. The idiotic thing we do now, is to force the sale, at unnecessarily low prices, of large quantities of the very articles that our own people need, and should consume, or use in production; and this we do for the purpose of increasing the number of dollars' worth of goods sold. At the same time we discourage importations, by heavy import duties, making all imported goods scarce and dear. And all this is in pursuit of a will-o'-the-wisp, —a cash balance which is always flitting, flashing, and *disappearing*.

What business-man, in managing his own affairs, ever questions the simple fact that it is better to buy cheap and sell dear than to buy dear and sell cheap, —better to do a small and profitable business than a large and losing one ? Yet the people of the United States are deliberately asked to believe that the nation which sells more (dollars'-worth) than it buys, is necessarily getting rich, even if it sells ridiculously cheap and buys extravagantly dear.

The present tariff of this country is an outgrowth of a selfish struggle between classes having conflicting private interests to advance, and selfish purposes to serve. Agriculturalists who desire to sell their cotton, wheat, beef, and other products, to the best advantage to themselves, and manufacturers who desire to secure a foreign market, use their power and influence in favor of free-trade, —because, if they can send their produce or wares out, duty free, they can get the full price in the foreign market, less the cost of transportation; while, as consumers and employers of labor, they of course wish to have everything in this country, except what they have to sell, as cheap as possible, and are therefore opposed to any duties on imports, because such duties tend to make everything in the country dear. Opposed to the agriculturalists, producers and manufacturers who depend upon a foreign market, are a class of manufacturers, or would-be manufacturers, and agriculturalists or would-be agriculturalists, who desire to make a business of supplying the home market with goods or produce which can be manufactured or produced more cheaply abroad. This class of patriots (?) delight in having an export duty on "raw materials" of the varieties used by themselves, as on cotton for example, and a prohibitory duty on imports of the kinds which they wish to produce and sell.

The rich, as a class always willing to favor anything which will relieve them from taxation, gladly consent to any tariff, or anything else, that will furnish a revenue to the government, but advocate a "tariff for revenue only," considering that tariff the best which produces the largest revenue to the government, and consequently affords the greatest relief to them.

The poor, as a class, particularly the class who call themselves "working men," and vote, in favor of what they believe to be the "interests of labor," are ignorantly and stupidly in favor of what (to deceive them) is called a "protective tariff", —which, in general terms, means that raw material should be imported, duty-free, when it is to be manufactured in this country; that foreign manufactured-goods should be admitted only upon the payment of heavy duties; and that the exportation of everything should be unrestricted.

Our present tariff is a compromise or adjustment of these several selfish interests. It will be seen, however, that our tariff is just about what the "working men" are in favor of, and they of all others are the worst sufferers by its baneful results.

If any "working man" who reads this book will do a little thinking for himself, just here, he will observe that the classes who are really benefited by our present tariff are in favor of cheap labor. Large farmers, stock-raisers, planters, and all exporters of raw materials, are in favor of no duties on exports, and want cheap labor. All manufacturers who have a foreign market want to export their goods, duty-free, and employ cheap labor. All manufacturers who depend on supplying the home-market with goods that could be bought cheaper in foreign countries, are in favor of duties on imports, to raise the price of their goods, but not to raise the price of labor: —they want cheap labor. The rich, if engaged in business, want cheap labor; and, if not

engaged in business, want labor not only cheap but servile. They all want cheap labor. Our present tariff, and unrestricted immigration gives it to them; and "working men" loudly and energetically insist on having it just so.

The existing tariff makes every valuable thing, —everything that is bought and sold for money,— scarce and dear in this country. If any one thing, at any time, becomes comparatively cheap, it is immediately exported, duty-free, to some country where it is dearer; consequently, everything in this country, except our articles of export must necessarily be dearer here than any where else in the world. And, evidently, articles of export themselves are made scarce and dear by the very fact that they are exported in large quantities. Fortunately, the cost of transportation sometimes causes an exception in our favor.

The duties on imports directly make all imported articles scarce and dear; and by forcing industry into unnatural pursuits, such duties indirectly tend to prevent any thing whatever, except labor, from becoming cheap. Labor is as easily exported or imported as anything else. There is no duty on imported working men, and consequently labor can never be, or continue to be, very much dearer here than in foreign countries.

The certain and inevitable result of our present tariff system is this:

First: Everything consumed by the working man is made more scarce and dear here than in any other country, —that is, one dollar in money always buys less here than in other countries.

Second: The money-wages can never be much if any higher here than in other countries, because immigration soon equalizes wages whenever any difference becomes manifest:— as long as it is known or believed that wages in this country are higher than elsewhere, foreign laborers will continue to come here, and in increasing numbers, until wages are lower here than in the countries whence they come.

In the light of these facts, it is evident that our present "protective" tariff is about the best one that could be devised to hoodwink the masses and cheapen labor. It reduces money-wages in this country to the level of money-wages in other countries, and keeps them at or near that level, while a given number of dollars always buys less here than in other countries. It is a question whether or not real wages are yet reduced, with us, to the European level; but, if they are not, they soon must be, under existing legislation. Then, a working man in this country will always be compelled to consume less than do working men in other countries; his real wages will be less; his labor will be cheaper: —he will get just about the same number of dollars for the same work as he would in other countries, but he will buy less with his dollars.

With free importations, all kinds of goods which can be produced in foreign countries more cheaply than in this country would be imported, and would be cheap, allowing home industry to seek natural and legitimate channels, and to produce such things as can be produced here to the best advantage. With an *according-to-value* duty on exports, all goods of the kinds exported would of course be cheaper here than in other countries. This

advalorem duty should be about twenty per cent., —for the following reason. The people of a nation being entitled to a rent of two per cent. per annum on the value of all assets, when an asset is exported the exporter should render an equivalent to the people for the rent of the asset, in perpetuity. This equivalent I estimate approximately as equal to twenty per cent. of the market value of the asset. That is to say, the natural duty on all exports should be twenty per cent. *according-to-value*.

With such a rational tariff, everything in this country would be as cheap as, and many things very much cheaper than, in other countries. The money-wages, —the number of dollars paid for a given quantity of labor— would never vary greatly from the money-wages of other countries, for any considerable time; because emigration, if unrestricted, would tend to equalize money-wages in the several countries. Nevertheless, money-wages, in this country, with such a tariff, would range somewhat lower than the average in countries where a different tariff prevailed; because, everything being so much cheaper here, it would become known that one dollar would buy more here than anywhere else, and that fact would have its effect on immigration.

In one word, with a rational tariff in this country, money-wages would be about the same, or a little less, than in other countries; but real wages would be very much higher here than anywhere else where such a tariff had not been adopted, other things being equal.

Whenever, in a new country, rich in fertile lands and natural wealth of various kinds, labor is unemployed or poorly paid, it is because of the monopoly of wealth by the few, or of unwise and unjust laws which prevent men from using the materials with which nature has provided them. In every such country, it will be found that the legislators are either irresponsible despots, or political tricksters, or rich men, or some combination of the three.

Our so-called republic is governed by rich men and politicians, who join hands to fleece the people, and struggle with each other for the spoils. The politicians want a large revenue, and the rich do not want to be taxed, but do want to get and hold as much of the wealth of the people as possible. They agree together to pass laws in favor of monopoly, for the benefit of the rich, and to tax the poor for the benefit of the politicians. The poor wish they were rich, or could get an office, and would, as a rule, be every bit as unjust as their masters, if they had the opportunity.

In this country, successful politicians¹ soon become rich. It is wonderful how much money they can save in a few years. Being rich, they continue to legislate; and virtually we are governed by property-holders who will tax everything except property and everybody except themselves, and are thereby enabled to hold on to the mines and the land, and every other thing that would make labor productive, —not using it themselves, perhaps, or allowing others to do so, but creating and maintaining a dog-in-the-manger monopoly,

1 These same politicians and rich people would organize and operate a universal republic of world government.

that keeps many thousands idle, and forces millions to work for a very poor living.

A uniform *according-to-value* tax on assets would compel such legislators and property-holders to loosen their grip on the wealth of the people, or to compete with each other for productive labor, in order that they could produce enough, or have enough produced for them, to pay taxes, provide for their own support, and pay their workmen besides.

The tariff of the United States cheats the consumers of imported goods, every year, out of about \$260,000,000, which should be paid to the government by the rich in the form of an *according-to-value* tax on assets; it increases the cost of living at least twenty-five per cent., thereby directly cheating the people out of \$1,250,000,000, every year, which individuals would otherwise be able to save from their income; it forces industry into unnatural channels, and thereby makes labor very much less productive than it otherwise would be. Every producer of goods for exportation, whether a manufacturer or agriculturalist, is directly injured by the duties on imports. Every workingman, and every citizen, in fact, of the whole country, except only one small class of manufacturers, is injured in the price of everything he consumes, and in the loss of opportunities to make an honest living. The only persons benefited are the small class of manufacturers just referred to, who are factitiously enabled to do business, at such an enormous cost to the people, by having a home market created for them through this masked-robbers' protective tariff.

It is said that a nation like the United States should be able to manufacture or produce everything, or nearly everything, necessary to its well being, and that many manufactories which cannot be made profitable in their infancy would become self-sustaining if once well established; and that, therefore, the government should protect them when young. If this is true, and undoubtedly it is, the people should pay directly for what they desire to secure in the matter, by awarding premiums to assist individuals or corporations in establishing the desired industries. By so doing, the people would accomplish the purpose at a minimum of cost to themselves, instead of at the outrageous price at present paid.

If we are to have any other than the rational tariff, —if we are to have a "discriminating" tariff,— let the discriminations be on the side of humanity, or at least of patriotism, instead of in favor of a privileged few, at the expense of national prosperity and popular well-being.

As an example of what might be done by "discrimination," suppose that the United States, Russia, and Egypt should agree together to impose an export duty of 40 per cent. *advalorem* on wheat and corn, Europe would be compelled to pay the enhanced price, and import nearly as much as she does now; and wheat and corn would become very much cheaper in the United States, Russia, and Egypt.

As another example, suppose that the United States should impose an export duty of forty per cent. *according-to-value* on raw cotton, and allow

manufactured cotton goods to go out free. A very large proportion of the cotton manufactories of Europe would be compelled to close, and a corresponding proportion of the raw cotton now exported would be manufactured here, and the goods exported. Such a "discrimination," in the matter of cotton and cotton goods, would give the United States so much of a monopoly of the entire cotton industry of the world that not a yard of cotton goods could be sold by manufacturers in Europe until the American cotton crop was exhausted; that is to say, American manufacturers would get their raw material 40 per cent. cheaper than their European rivals, and would have that advantage in the European market; and this country would therefore be enabled to sell a larger crop of cotton than at present, at the same price for the raw material, —because, being sure of a market both at home and abroad, manufacturers here would compete with each other for the crop, and could afford to pay even more than present prices for every pound of it.

Better than any discriminating tariff, would be the simple, rational one, that would admit all imports duty-free, and impose a uniform *advalorem* duty of twenty per cent. on all exports.

The individual who produces wheat or corn, or cotton or cotton goods, holds the articles produced by him as certificates of purchasing-power, or evidences of the indebtedness of the people to him; but his ownership is subject to and limited by the superior ownership of the people, and he has no right to export such articles without paying the people for their interest in them. The government, as the agent of the people, has no right to allow wealth of any kind to be exported without exacting an equivalent for the common ownership of it, or enforcing the condition that as much wealth shall be imported in exchange.

With just money in use, gold and silver would not be required as a circulating medium; would, though still valuable, cease to be articles of prime necessity, except perhaps in very small quantities; and would, with precious stones, constitute a class of assets which, in proportion to their value, would be the least useful, the least wanted, of all assets. Therefore no other class of assets of equal value could be spared by the people with as little inconvenience. To encourage their exportation in preference to more useful wealth of equal value, precious stones and precious metals might be exempted from the otherwise uniform duty on exports imposed by the rational tariff. Their value in this country, in any case, would increase and decrease with their scarcity, and their outflow and inflow would, if not interfered with, be perfectly self-regulating.

Should just money and a rational tariff be adopted by the United States, it is perfectly evident that, after international commerce and the business of the country had perfectly adjusted themselves to such a tariff and to such money, the value to this country of the imports would exceed that of the exports by exactly twenty per cent. This means neither more nor less than a direct profit or gain to the nation of twenty per cent. *according-to-value* on all goods sold to foreign countries; that is, in every exchange made with foreign

countries, this nation would exchange in the proportion of eighty for one-hundred, —would give or pay eighty dollars worth, and receive one-hundred dollars worth in exchange for that eighty. This would be true whether other nations adopted the same tariff or not. If all nations should adopt just money and a rational tariff, every nation would make a clear gain or profit equal to twenty per cent. of the value *to that nation* of its exports, and international commerce would have become exactly what it should be, —namely, a natural and just system of exchanges directly benefiting each nation exactly in proportion to the value of its exports or imports.

The exports of the United States consist principally of food and raw materials. For food, European nations are so far dependent upon us that we could sell them nearly or quite as many dollar's worth of it as we do now, even if we should impose an export duty of fifty per cent. *ad-valorem*. The grain we export is "raw material" for the European millers, and leather is raw material for foreign shoe and harness makers, while our cotton is the raw material upon which the immense cotton manufacturing industry of Europe principally depends.

If we had a discriminating tariff which would take these facts as a basis, —which would impose all the export duties on food that "the traffic would bear," and such duties on raw material that our millers would grind our grain and our mills manufacture our cotton, etc., etc., and would let the manufactured articles go out with light duties, or duty-free if necessary to secure a foreign market,— such a "discriminating tariff" would increase the employment of capital and labor, and be a great improvement on anything yet tried in this or any other new country; but, a rational tariff and just money would "protect" every man, woman and child in the country from hunger, cold and want, by making all desirable wealth cheap and abundant, creating a general demand for labor and consequently increased wages in every branch of industry, while directing industry itself into its most natural, effective and productive, and therefore most profitable channels.

It is convenient to call the money-unit one dollar, and a one-hundredth part of that unit one cent, and to use the term *dollar* to indicate either the property or asset, commonly termed a dollar, or the purchasing-power, or capital, the ownership of that asset confers.

When we say that the value of an asset is one dollar, we mean that the purchasing-power conferred by the ownership of the asset is equal to that conferred by the ownership of one dollar in money; that is, one unit of purchasing-power. We estimate purchasing-power by comparing the value of the asset to the value of a dollar in money. To create a just dollar, which would have an absolutely invariable value, it would be necessary to have some fixed measure of value to which the value of money could be made invariably to conform; but value, capital, purchasing-power, is the result of constantly changing relations between wealth and its owners, and the value of any one asset must always be more or less affected by that of every other: consequently it is simply impossible that any one asset can have absolutely the same value, or an invariable value for any two consecutive seconds of time. Nevertheless, the nature of value being perfectly understood, it is not difficult to create dollars, the value of which will, for all practical purposes, be invariable.

In ordinary, peaceful times, when nothing seems to disturb the normal relations of wealth and labor, we become accustomed to consider the relative value of money and wealth as identical with their real or absolute value; that is, we say, when general prices have advanced, that merchandise has increased in value, because it takes more money to buy the same quantity of merchandise than it did before the advance; and we say, also, for the same reason, that the value of money has decreased.

If this were true, and the treasurer of any nation which used its treasury-notes as money should watch general prices, and put in circulation or withdraw from circulation just enough of that money to keep general prices always the same, the money would have an invariable value. If general prices were seen to advance, showing that money was relatively abundant, the treasurer could, by selling government bonds, or in some other manner, withdraw just sufficient money from circulation to stop the advance in prices. If, on the other hand, the treasurer should observe that general prices were declining, he could, by calling in the bonds, put just enough money into circulation again to atone that decline. It can easily be understood that, in this way, the treasurer of a nation could perfectly adjust the relative value of money and merchandise, provided only that he had sufficient money in reserve to be used when required for the purpose; and that, as compared with general merchandise, money would then have an invariable value, exactly as, by other but similar processes, the several kinds of money now in circulation in the United States, (in 1883), are made to have an invariable value as compared with gold.

If the government of the United States should issue paper certificates of purchasing-power, to be used as money, and demonetise everything else, and regulate the value of such certificates by the value of all other assets, or by the value of the most substantial part of such assets, a money would be thus provided the value of which, as compared with the value of the assets, would be invariable. In normal times, such money, though not a perfect money, would be much better than any we have ever had. The present currency of the United States is said to be based on gold. In similar language the currency we have just described would be based on assets.

It is not enough, however, that money and merchandise should have an invariable *relative* value; that is, an invariable value as compared with each other; it is also necessary that value should have a certain relation to utility, —should correspond as nearly as possible with utility. In other words, it is desirable that the value of wealth should increase and decrease as nearly as possible with the utility of wealth. It is an undisputed axiom in political economy that the value of anything depends upon the desire to possess it and the difficulty of obtaining it. Now a dollar of invariable value would be one that it would always cost the same quantity of labor or effort to obtain; for the intensity of our desires is correctly measured by the quantity of effort we are willing to expend in satisfying them. With a currency based on assets, although the relative value of money and merchandise would be always the same, the absolute value of both would fluctuate with every change in the proportion of wealth to population. Every increase in that proportion would make both the dollars and the wealth they would buy more abundant, more easily obtained and therefore less valuable. In the opposite direction, also, every decrease in the proportion of wealth to population would make both the dollars and the wealth they would buy more valuable, because more labor or effort would be required to obtain them.

Evidently, in order that one dollar may have an absolutely invariable value, it is necessary that the difficulty of obtaining it should be always the same. Or, to present the same thing in another light, the owner of one dollar should be able to pay for as much labor with his dollar at any one time, as at any other time, in order that the dollar should always have the same invariable value.

The value of the money-unit, on any given working-day in the United States, could be ascertained with scientific precision if it were possible to find out how many hours' work were done in the country on that day, and exactly how many dollars were paid for that work. The average quantity of labor devoted to earning a dollar would determine the value of a dollar on that day, because the labor expended measures both the desire to possess and the difficulty of obtaining a thing, and the average quantity of labor expended by citizens in earning a dollar is the natural measure both of the value of the dollar and the value of the wealth it will purchase.

But the labor of not-capitalists should alone be considered in regulating the value of money; because, although every legal effort to acquire an

income is labor, and all income is the legal wages of labor, and the wealth consumed by citizens is the real wages of labor, nevertheless it is the kind of labor performed by not-capitalists which gives utility to wealth and gives a desirable basis to value. The acquiring of income by a capitalist, as such, requires efforts comparatively slight, and of a different kind from those expended by the not-capitalist.

The capitalist, though necessarily considered to be a producer of wealth, inasmuch as wealth is estimated by value, would perhaps, if wealth were estimated by utility, not prove to be a producer at all. That is, capitalists acquire wealth by speculating in, manipulating and increasing the value of wealth, rather than by increasing the utility of wealth: therefore, to check the divergence between the utility and the value of wealth, to make value represent utility and at the same time to keep the value of a dollar invariable, the dollar should always pay for the same quantity of the labor of not-capitalists.

As an example of how the labor of the capitalist produces value, let us suppose that a certain railroad has been created by the labor of not-capitalists; that the net earnings and prospects of the road, and the financial condition of the company are such that the stock is well worth \$80 per share; that it is selling for that price; that a very rich capitalist sets his agents to buying for him, not only all the shares in the market but all that any responsible parties will agree to deliver to him at some time in the near future; that the whole number of shares in existence is 100,000; that the capitalist succeeds in buying just 200,000, thus securing all the stock and having responsible parties under obligation to deliver as much more to him at \$80 per share. Evidently such an enterprising capitalist could exact his own price for the 100,000 shares of stock that his victims would have to buy of him in order to deliver. He would consider himself very obliging indeed if he were "induced to part with it" for less than \$160 per share; but at that price, his labor would have produced value to the amount of \$8,000,000. With a slight effort, —very little labor,— he would have doubled the value of the stock; and, if we are to estimate wealth by value, he would have added \$8,000,000, to the wealth of the country. But, if we are to estimate wealth by its utility, he would certainly find it very difficult to prove that he had been a producer in that transaction.

The reader knows that it is through such "labor" and "production" as this that the wealth of the United States is so rapidly concentrating in the hands of a few of our most "talented workingmen."

Of not-capitalists, those who receive the highest wages are, as a rule, indebted to something other than their own superior industry, ability and effort, for a part of the wages they receive; and, consequently, in estimating the value of money, their wages cannot be considered simply as the price of the wealth they produce.

In view of what has now been said, it appears to me that, in the United States, just money could be created in the manner indicated in the following articles:

Article 1. On or before the 10th day of every month, let every person in the United States who employs others, make in writing a true statement, on a blank form provided by the government for the purpose, of the number of persons employed by him during the preceding month; the wages per hour paid to each person so employed; and the wages paid per hour for the same kind of work during the month preceding the one above mentioned. On the same day, or the day after that on which the said written statement is prepared, let it be mailed to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

Article 2. The Secretary of the Treasury shall leave out of consideration one-fourth part of the number of persons so employed and reported in the several statements provided for in Article 1st, which fourth part shall consist of those receiving the highest wages per hour; and he shall ascertain, as soon as possible, the average wages per hour received by the other three-fourths part, and shall consider that average to have been the average wages per hour of the corresponding month; and he shall compare that average with the average of the month preceding that, and thereby ascertain whether wages per hour are increasing or decreasing, and at what rate per cent.; and on every month thereafter the Secretary shall in like manner ascertain the average of wages per hour and the rate of increase or decrease for the preceding month.

Article 3. The Secretary shall from time to time increase the quantity of money in circulation, but shall never, under any circumstances whatever, withdraw from circulation enough to decrease the average rate of wages. Whenever the Secretary shall observe a decrease in the average rate of wages, he shall immediately add to the quantity of money in circulation so much as shall appear to be required to restore the highest average rate of wages that had at any time been observed after the first monthly statements had been made. The purpose which the Secretary shall have always in view will be to issue just enough currency to prevent the average of wages from being for any two consecutive months below the highest point at any time reached; but not enough to cause any greater advance in wages, at any time, than shall appear to be necessary or incidental to this method of preventing a decline in wages.

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A 400-grain silver coin as the unit of account and currency is better and simpler than this bureaucratic, somewhat convoluted method of yours. Silver coins, silver certificates, non-legal-tender Treasury notes, and fractional notes, maintained at about \$35-50 per capita, would suffice and retain the purchasing power of the unit of account for a long time (for a generation, at least).

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By thus regulating or controlling the value of the money-unit, a dollar would be created which would at all times pay for an equal quantity of the most desirable kinds of labor-products, the quantity of such labor-products being estimated, not by weight, or bulk, but by the quantity of useful labor required to produce them.

Such a dollar would constitute the nearest possible approximation to a dollar of invariable value. The creation and employment of such money by

the people would have a very important and beneficial influence on both the production and distribution of wealth, and would be just money.

If, with such money in use, it should be observed, at anytime, that capitalists were acquiring capital too easily or accumulating it too rapidly in proportion to the wages of not-capitalists, an increase in the rate per cent. of the *advalorem* tax on assets would very soon correct that injustice. If, on the contrary, it should be observed that economy and abstinence were not sufficiently rewarded or encouraged, the rate of the tax could be decreased accordingly.

The notes, bills, tokens, or certificates, constituting the tangible, visible, corporate part of just money may be, in general appearance, and in the number of dollars, or fractions of a dollar that each constitutes or represents, like the National and bank currency with which we are so familiar, or the notes may have any other suitable form and appearance. What is or what is not expressed on the face or back of the note, further than to make known that it is money, and how much money it is, is a matter of no consequence whatever, because the law to which it will owe its existence will determine its nature, and that nature will assert itself whether or not a description is printed on each bill.¹

The one-dollar note will be a certificate that the owner or bearer is entitled to one unit of purchasing-power, debt-paying-power, or capital; a legal tender for the payment of any debt of one dollar he may owe or contract; a certificate that the people owe him the legal right to consume whatever he can buy with the dollar.

Just money will be the only money recognized by law; the only standard by which the value of other things can be legally estimated; the only term in which any quantity of value, capital, purchasing-power, debt paying-power, debits or credits can be legally stated. Just money will always be found by anybody having assets to offer in exchange for it. If any of it leaves the country, hides away, is hoarded, or is lost, so much clear gain to the people. Neither its abundance, its scarcity, nor its value, can be interfered with or unsettled while the law remains in force and the Secretary of the national treasury does his duty.

1 You completely left out the regulating of money corporations and the prohibition of bank-note issue, circulating of credit, discounting for anything other than cash.

By a republic I mean "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people;" a government of which the people is sovereign; a state, nation, or community in which the will of the people is law.

Sovereignty is the right to make laws and enforce them. Sovereignty is the right to govern the people.

If all citizens had exactly the same notions of right and wrong, and each desired only that the right should prevail, there would be nothing for a sovereign to do; but, unfortunately, or fortunately, there are "many men of many minds, and many men do not agree." *Therefore* it is necessary that somebody or something should decide between them, and enforce the decision, —that in society some authority be recognized and submitted to by individuals. Such authority with the power to enforce its edicts is sovereignty. In a republic, the people, considered as a collective entity, is that authority to which all individuals must submit: —individual will is subject to the collective will.

It is essential to the existence of a true republic that the will of the people be promptly and exhaustively ascertained, formulated intelligibly, announced and enforced. A true republic is not necessarily a perfect government, because the legitimate object of government is correctly to define and enforce the right. A wise people, —a community in which the citizens severally are intelligent and well-instructed,— will make right laws; because, right and wrong are based upon the desires and wants of individuals, and each citizen will base his desires upon his wants, and will be the best judge of his own wants. Popular education and free discussion enlighten the individual and make a wise people; *therefore*, "error of opinion may be safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." "Institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge" should be promoted, "as an object of primary importance," and "virtue or morality" will be the result. The sovereign people will correctly define and enforce the right, and the republic will approximate more and more nearly to a perfect government as individuals increase in knowledge and improve in virtue and morality.

A true republic is yet an untried experiment, except on a small scale or in a small community [Switzerland]. Every attempt to found or establish a truly republican nation has proved abortive. In this country, as well as in all modern republics, so called, where honest and true-hearted men have made such an attempt, the result has been an oligarchy, or a government of the people by the few, and for the few.

And why ?

It is because dependence has been placed upon the secret ballot and periodical elections, for ascertaining and announcing the will of the people. Long and bitter experience has proved conclusively that the ballot is exceedingly liable to fraudulent manipulation, is inefficient even for periodical

elections, and is useless for continuous or perpetual elections, or for any full or comprehensive expression of the will of the people. In the United States a deadly "infection" has destroyed whatever of purity existed, in the days of Washington and Adams, in what the latter designates as "our free, fair, virtuous, and independent elections." Our liberties have not only been endangered, but much is already lost; and, in spite of the warning of Jefferson, the "pursuits of industry" have been so regulated as to "take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

The limits of this work will not permit me to discuss, at any length, the defects of our present methods of electing representatives and legislators, nor will the thoughtful reader think it necessary that I should do so. Every newspaper published in the country is a record of election frauds and political corruption resulting therefrom. A "free ballot and a fair count," if they ever did exist in reality, are now things of the past. Of the two principal political parties, that which believes itself to be the more popular at any given election is inclined to favor a free ballot and a fair count; and the other, believing itself to be in a minority, is more inclined to oppose that kind of voting. But the fact is that the ballot is manipulated not by either party, but by the few leading tricksters of each party, who manage to secure results that suit themselves.

The key to the true republic is perpetual voting, or continuous elections. The world will yet have to learn that it is only by the aid of such voting and elections that a true republic can be established or maintained. The ballot is fit only for periodically electing representatives or public officers, and for occasionally voting yes or no, for or against, some proposed law. It is objectionable even for that purpose, because of the opportunity for fraud its employment affords. That the people of this nation should have for so many years considered it an efficient instrument for expressing their will, and should have so confidently allowed their liberties to depend upon it, is one of the mysteries of the human intellect.

The will of the people is the will of innumerable majorities, and is, in reference to any particular act or measure, exactly what a majority of the people desire to have done. In regard to a proposed law, for example, every individual in the nation should have an opportunity to vote for or against any and every word, and to propose alterations and amendments, in such manner that when a law came into force every word in it, and the law as a whole, should be in accordance with the will of a majority of all citizens; that is to say, no law can be considered to be according to the will of the people, if, upon being submitted word by word to the people, and each word voted upon separately, a majority of the people vote against any one word in it.

In the possibility of this unlimited separation of issues, and the submitting of every part of a question to the people, instead of "pooling the issues," or grouping them together, as has always been necessary heretofore, and as always will be necessary without perpetual voting, lies the difference between a government by the people and a government by political parties. The warning of Washington against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, as the

worst enemy of popular government, was useless, and always will be useless, until perpetual voting gives expression to the will of the people, and thereby abolishes political parties altogether by destroying their power.

The will of the people is continually changing; and, to establish a true republic, a voting system is necessary by which the popular will and its changes can be ascertained and announced with a promptness and accuracy equal to that with which the thermometer indicates and announces the temperature of the atmosphere and the continuous changes to which it is subject.

By the present system of elections, we vote once in four years for a President of the United States. With a system of perpetual voting, every qualified citizen would have his name properly recorded at the voting place, and, with his name, the name of his candidate, or the person of his choice. Whenever he changed his mind, and preferred a different person, he would have the corresponding change made in the record. All citizens being provided with the necessary facilities for thus recording and changing their votes, the record of all the votes would constitute a perfect expression of the will of the people. When the record announced that some new candidate was preferred by the people, the corresponding change would be made in the office. Exactly this manner of voting continuously, or perpetually, for a President of the United States, would perhaps never be found convenient or necessary; but by this example the reader will be enabled to understand wherein the difference lies between perpetual or continuous voting and periodical voting.

To convert the United States into a true Republic, a practical and efficient system of perpetual voting is necessary, and that system must be so provided with suitable checks and guards that fraudulent results will be impossible. To make the republic a good as well as a true one, several new features must be introduced and many old institutions purified.

Inasmuch as popular government is based upon a recognition of certain fixed principles, it follows that a true republic must be based upon a constitution, or organic statutory law, which shall, in a general but unmistakable manner, define the vital principles and elements necessary to the existence of a republic. A written constitution is not only the primary and essential feature of a true republic, but it must necessarily constitute a complete, outline of such a republic.

Laws must necessarily be statutory or conventional (common); that is, they must be formulated, written, recorded and published as statutes, or they must consist of such informal and unwritten laws as always exist by common consent or usage in any community, governing the actions of citizens in many cases that the statutes do not cover. Statutory laws must necessarily consist of laws of every degree of scope and detail, beginning with one of the greatest possible scope and importance, to which all others are subordinate and must conform. Such a statute will be the constitution of a true republic, and will necessarily be the highest and most comprehensive expression of the will of the people, —the highest law of the republic.

This constitution will proclaim, as the basis of all rights, that the object of all being is the welfare of the conscious; that the object of government is to establish justice; that the people is sovereign; that citizens are equal; that perpetual voting and popular education are necessary to the sovereignty of the people.

At present, no effective method of continuous and progressive discussion of questions of general interest is provided. The periodical sessions of legislative bodies are unsatisfactory. Our congress and legislatures waste a large portion of their time in organizing and getting ready for business, a great part of which is necessarily left unfinished at the end of the term, and must be begun over again at some subsequent term, —thus subjecting the people to unnecessary delay or to the evils of hasty legislation.

Nearly all the most serious evils of our present system are incidental to our defective and wholly wrong taxation, the want of just money, our insane tariff, the secret ballot, and periodical elections.

The concluding chapter of this book consists of a proposed amendment to the constitution of the United States, in which is described the necessary voting and election reforms, and certain incidental changes involved therewith. That I have succeeded in pointing out the very best combination of details that could be adopted I do not presume; but that perpetual elections are necessary, and that the system described in the amendment is substantially the right one, —the only one that can make a true, progressive, and prosperous republic possible, —I have no doubt.

It is a matter of congratulation that mankind are not more disposed than they are to join state to state and nation to nation. It would undoubtedly be as well or better for humanity, if to-day every existing nation should be split up into two or more fragments; because the stronger and more permanent a bad government is, the worse for the people. And every existing government certainly maintains exceedingly bad institutions, yet resolutely opposes changes of any kind.

Small bodies are more easily moved than larger ones, and the smaller a nation is the more likely it is to move in the direction of the prevailing tendency. Less knowledge is required to manage the affairs of a small than a large nation, and the people of a small nation are more likely to see their own interests than are the people of a larger nation. In any one of our modern nations containing not more than three millions of people, all the leading citizens are known to each other and to the masses, every man's individuality is more marked, and his personal influence is comparatively greater, than it would be in a larger nation. Public opinion in a small nation is much more easily reached and influenced than in a larger one. Therefore it appears that the chances of having any radical reform accepted are much greater in a small than in a large nation; and so powerful is the influence of successful reform that, if any one nation, however small, should successfully solve the problem of practical good government, and establish a true republic, the whole world would be soon converted, and the universal republic the sooner established.

From this view, it would appear that large and powerful nations are an impediment to progress, and, in the interests of humanity, should be broken up as soon as possible. But, on the other hand, if, in a great and powerful nation, like the United States, the progressive forces are stronger than the conservative and retrograde, it would be a great misfortune to have such a nation go to pieces. In the United States no reform can succeed until it becomes popular, which is as it should be; but, if the oligarchy which rules the country can, by trick and device successfully prevent any radical and desirable reform from becoming popular, and that oligarchy is likely to perpetuate itself and its powers, then is our cherished union a failure. Every reader will form his own opinion of the facts; but it appears to me that the realization of the hopes of the founders of this government depend on whether or not the people of this nation recognize the principles and adopt the measures of reform necessary to complete the outline of a true republic.

In a republic the sovereignty is indivisible: it belongs to the whole people considered as a unit. To understand this proposition it is necessary to bear in mind that the sovereign does not confer individual rights; it is his business simply to define and enforce natural rights. The people of any locality should be allowed to regulate their own affairs only to the extent that the rights of individuals are more likely to be known and protected by the local authority than by the general authority. The local authorities, or people of a locality, are subject to the people of the nation, and act as the agents of the latter exactly as a local governor appointed by a king would be the subject of the king, and considered as the agent or representative of that sovereign.

By a system of elections which would convert the United States into a true republic, all danger of any very great retrograde movement anywhere in the world would be forever passed. Any great radical and successful reform in the United States, if that reform were for the better, would soon be adopted by all Spanish America, and perhaps by France. With a succession of such reforms, monarchies would rapidly disappear from the world, republics would take their place, and these would soon be merged in the Universal Republic.

The fraudulent practices incidental to voting by ballot do not constitute the most serious objection to that method; because, if the people were fully awake to the evil, and determined to remedy it, possibly the "purity of the ballot" might be maintained. But the ballot, even if "purified," is suitable only for periodical or occasional voting, and would be useless for perpetual voting. Politicians generally understand how to have a "free vote and a fair count" when such a vote and count suit their purposes. For example, in electing officers at a convention, or in an assembly, when the members are sufficiently interested, every member is given an opportunity to name the candidate he prefers, and the voting goes on systematically and fairly: —ballot follows ballot, until a choice is made; and the candidate elected in that manner is the one who most nearly represents the collective will of the members at the moment the choice is made.

The vital defect in our governmental experiment is that our elections are periodical instead of perpetual.

We elect presidents, governors, congressmen, legislators, and all public officers, not during good behavior, not until it suits us to remove them, but for a fixed and definite period. The officers and trustees of all business associations, stock concerns, or corporations, are elected in the same manner and for similar periods. The result is, and always will be, exactly what the very nature of man should lead us to expect; namely, that, however promising our candidates may be before election, they will, as a rule, make the most of their term of office to advance their own selfish ends. In an assembly or body so elected, the selfish majority outvoting the more conscientious minority, if there is a conscientious minority, will invariably make such laws, or take such action, if possible, as will tend to perpetuate and increase their own power. The affairs of the nation being in the hands of bodies so constituted, a spoils-system is invariably the result, —a system growing more and more corrupt with the growth of the nation, degrading politics to a mad, mercenary struggle between parties; corrupting the people; destroying their liberties; and leading the nation blindly on to civil war, anarchy, destruction.

By perpetual voting, on the contrary, the people, or the members of an assembly, or of a stock concern, or other association, have a continuous, prompt, and full expression of their will. A law is passed, representatives elected and removed at the will and pleasure of their constituents, a candidate requires votes to keep him in office as well as to elect him to office, and if he retains his office it is because people continue to vote for him. He will be thus held immediately and directly responsible to the persons who have selected him as their representative, and if he fails in any respect to represent their desires or wishes he will immediately be reminded of the fact by having so much of his power depart from him. If he proves himself able and efficient, his power will increase exactly in proportion to the number of voters who approve of his course.

Perpetual voting, though perfectly simple and easily carried out, and not liable to be fraudulently perverted, would require for its adoption some radical changes in the present details of our national organization. Such changes, though simple and easily accomplished, are not to be understood without patient attention, and cannot be described except at some length. Therefore the final chapter of this book is devoted to a proposed amendment to the constitution of the United States, in which perpetual voting is specifically outlined. The chapter is somewhat formidable in appearance, though much less so in reality. If the careless or incredulous reader fails to take it into his understanding, so much the worse for everybody concerned; but whoever will thoroughly investigate the matter of perpetual voting, whether as applied to political or business affairs, will be convinced that, as a matter of fact, the world will never get on well without it.

We cannot have a republic without perpetual voting, and we cannot have either without popular education.

Inasmuch as a republic will be good or bad in proportion to the wisdom or ignorance of the voters, government is in duty bound to insist on their liberal education as a matter of primary and vital importance, and should use compulsion when necessary. Government may cause to be prepared a series of books containing all that voters are to be compelled to learn. Permanent boards of examination may be established to examine every child, say on or about its birthday, every year, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the child has learned during the preceding year the contents of the book or books corresponding to its age. When the child passes the examination creditably, it may be left to itself or to its parents or guardians for the ensuing year; otherwise it should be placed at once in a public school, to remain there until it makes up the deficiency, and should then be discharged until the time of the next annual examination.

Every child would thus be compelled to acquire the education demanded and provided for by the government, at a minimum of expense to the government, and in a manner that should be perfectly and universally satisfactory.

The right to education is the equal right of all citizens. This equal right is certainly violated when the government establishes a school system by which a few receive a superior education, at the expense of the people, while others, less favored, are only taught some of the most necessary elements, cannot gain admission to the schools, or cannot even find time and opportunity to attend.

The average citizen is so much occupied with his own private affairs that he has little time or inclination for the study of disputed points in religion, politics, finance, and other matters of general interest which he thinks do not seriously and immediately affect himself; and the public discussion of all such matters is generally carried on by parties who have a selfish interest in it, not identical with the interests of the people.

When such questions are taken up by the political parties, the discussion is generally carried on for the purpose of securing or defeating some partisan legislative action, and when the act is either passed or defeated, the discussion ends for the time, and public attention is diverted to something else, before a thorough understanding of the broader principles involved has been reached. The people adopt, as their own, the opinions of the party leaders, for the sake of obtaining a party triumph, or adopt hastily some plausible theory confidently and cunningly advanced by the newspapers or politicians. Thus it happens that very few of the great questions which from time to time agitate the public mind, are ever fully understood and finally settled; they are brought up, time and again, and discussed in the same superficial and partisan spirit, and with the same result. The public ear is filled with the "vaporings of public speakers," "the roar of oratorical demagogues," and the fool-catching purchasable arguments of a mercenary partisan press. The impartial voice of the statesman, and the writings of the honest thinker, are quite unheeded.

This state of affairs will continue, and human progress will be correspondingly slow, until a genuine government by the people is established, by means of perpetual elections, and until the wisdom of all the people is utilized for the solution of all questions of general interest.

According to our proposed amendment to the constitution, the method of introducing new measures, to be voted on, will utilize the wisdom of all the people, and every voter can readily present his views in a concise form to the public. The ideas thus formulated and recorded will be forever secured to the people, —to be voted for, tried, used, permanently incorporated in the legislation of the country, or finally rejected as erroneous or defective. This process may be called the process of perpetual discussion. By it, every question, once started, will be afterward continually before the people, and will be treated with the united wisdom of all the people, until finally disposed of as it should be. This process of preserving all proposed measures in the public records is indispensable to the conservation of ideas.

Our proposed amendment to the constitution of the United States would consummate the highest purposes of the founders of this nation. It would really establish a government of all, by all, for all, as distinguished from a government by the one, the few, or the many. Every voter would vote always, continually, perpetually, to obtain or secure just what he most desired in or from the government, and every voter would get just as much of what he voted for as would be compatible with the equal power and conflicting desires of all voters, —the constitution and laws, limiting, adjusting, and defining the equal rights of all on the basis of natural rights. The manner of voting, of recording, announcing and publishing all votes and everything connected therewith, would render fraudulent manipulation of any kind impossible. The method of proposing measures, and of their publication and preservation in the printed election reports, in combination with the right to vote perpetually for any measure whatever, would secure the benefit of every idea presented, and its discussion, adoption, or rejection on its merits, and without unnecessary loss of time, —thus carrying into effect the principles of "perpetual discussion" and the "conservation of ideas."

Under our amendment, also, the method of electing members of the several legislative bodies and qualified candidates for all positions of equal importance to that of district trustee, makes every employee of the government a true servant and *faithful* representative of the voters who *sustain* him in his position, while at the same time he is dependent upon his superiors for this particular position or office which he may hold. He will retain his office as long as he represents a sufficient number of voters to qualify him with the character of a representative or acceptable candidate, and at the same time gives satisfaction to the superiors who appoint and can remove him at will. He will certainly be a *servant* and not a *master* of the people.

Each and every employee of the government will represent a particular group of voters, and no two employees will be likely ever to represent exactly

the same group. Every voter is likely to be represented at all times by some employee in the government service, and in every branch of it.

The Senate will be composed of about two-hundred and fifty members, each member being voted for, like all other employees, by a distinct group of voters. The members of the Senate will always be the two-hundred and fifty most popular citizens of the republic, instantly responsible to their constituents for every vote or action. But they will be perfectly unembarrassed by this circumstance; because after the system has been in operation a sufficient time to become thoroughly adjusted they will be elected for their known opinions, character, ability, and sentiments; and, if honest and able, they will find that honesty and ability, wherever exhibited, will increase rather than diminish their constituency.

The legislative power of the Senate, exercised with unrestrained freedom, and controlling every branch of the government, will be limited by the constitution, and the "laws of the people." The laws of the Senate will be practically supreme, unless they conflict with the higher laws; but, if the laws enacted by the Senate are obnoxious to the people, the members responsible for the obnoxious laws will immediately find themselves in a minority, and the obnoxious laws will be repealed.

Each State Legislature will consist of about forty of the most popular men of the State, next to those who are candidates for the Senate, and it will be constituted in a similar manner to the Senate, and to the county and district legislative bodies.

The principle of perpetual voting is perfectly applicable to all forms of government, either of states or of corporations of any kind, and for any legislative or deliberative body where voting is to take place. Stock companies and corporate associations will never be managed in the interests of the stockholders or members until they adopt a system of perpetual, recorded voting. The secret ballot is inefficient: it is illusive as to secrecy, and is exceedingly liable to be fraudulently misused.

Perpetual voting is perfectly applicable to all elections for public functionaries in the United States. An article of our proposed amendment describes a method of applying that kind of voting with perfect facility and very great advantage, to the election of President of the United States, and without touching any other department of the government.

Should that method of electing a President be adopted, we should then have, for the first time, one essential feature of a true republic, and a President would be President because really preferred by the people to any other man. He would retain his office just as long as no other candidate should be preferred to him, and another would take his place just as soon as the recorded votes of the people demanded such a change. By every popular act he would gain votes; by every unpopular act he would lose votes. He would be just what the constitution of the United States intended he should be, the representative of *the whole people*. There would be no more question about how long a presidential term should be, nor about a second or a third term, or

holding office during good behaviour, or of impeachments, or any other of the unanswerable conundrums always inseparable from the carrying out of the present illogical, inefficient system, radically wrong, and necessarily unsatisfactory to everybody except the few who are in a position to take advantage of its defects.

Should a system of perpetual voting, for any purpose, be once introduced, a true republic would rapidly develop; and the true republic would be fully established as soon as no other system of voting were employed. But the complete adoption of perpetual voting, with the checks, guards, and facilities described in our proposed amendment to the constitution, would at once convert the United States from an oligarchy into a government of the all.

The constitution of the United States does not provide any way by which the people can amend it, except through the oligarchal authorities themselves; that is to say, not until public opinion has become so decided, demonstrative and imperative, that three-fourths of the Legislatures of the several states can be controlled by it to the end proposed. But the progress made by the people in securing reform of any kind that does not originate in the conflicting interests and demands of powerful and influential rings, cliques or combinations of politicians or capitalists, is inconsiderable. In the meantime the nation is moving steadily toward disintegration and destruction, on the one hand, and Asiatic fossilization on the other, with all that the latter involves, —a condition like that of China, where every citizen is either a millionaire, a successful politician, a soldier, a policeman, or a pauper, in the proportion of one millionaire to one million paupers.

But, in spite of difficulties and impediments, it is certainly high time that the constitution of the United States should be amended, —in certain features, at least, essential to the very existence of republican institutions. That constitution was the best that could be agreed upon by the representatives of the thirteen states who signed it. It is the constitution of an oligarchy, and was known to be such by those who framed it. But it was not their wish or intention to have it remain so. Their intention was that it should be amended and improved, from time to time, until it should become the constitution of a government by the all.¹

The world of thought moves in the direction of human equality and practical justice, while the constitution keeps pace only with the requirements of oligarchs, in their lust of wealth and power.

The people must have it amended, and carry out the hopes, wishes, and purposes of the founders of this government, by the adoption of such improvements as, after the experience of a century, we are convinced are necessary to the progress of humanity.

1 This is only your wish, visited upon those "founders;" you have no evidence to conclude it; but there is evidence that they got exactly what they wanted, and if any adjustment needed, it would be in the opposite direction.

P.S.— The first political opinion that I remember to have formed, was to the effect that in this country an experiment in democratic government had been tried, with perfect success, leaving nothing to be desired, no room for improvement. Entertaining that opinion at the time of [W.H.] Harrison's election [1840] to the presidency of the United States, I expressed to my father my surprise at the fierceness of the struggle then going on between opposing political parties, about what appeared to me to be insignificant or self-regulating matters of detail in our nearly perfect republic.¹

My father's answer was as follows: "This is an oligarchy. A true republic is possible only with perpetual elections."

Not until twenty years afterward did I fully understand his statement, and know its truth and importance. Another twenty years were required to enable me to recognize the essentials of a permanently good government, and prepare the outline of it given in this work. These essentials are,

First, Perpetual elections:

Second, Popular education, compulsory when necessary:

Third, Systematic discussion by the people of all matters of general interest, —perpetual discussion:

Fourth, The conservation of ideas:

Fifth, Honest revenue, —the death-rate tax:

Sixth, Just money:

Seventh, Rational tariff.

Every one of these requisites must be provided for, in the organic law of our land, before any citizen can have his own, or justice prevail, or liberty be realized, or a true republic exist.

1 The issue in 1840 was central bank or independent treasury. William Harrison was the candidate of the Whig party —the party of central bank, the party that was joined to the Bank of the United States at the hip; many of the prominent figures in the Whig party (like Mr. Clay) were paid employees of the Bank of the U.S. It was NOT an insignificant detail, it was a fundamental difference between the two concepts: who should be the fiscal agent of the government and who should control the nation's money-supply and finances — a privately-owned central bank, or an independent Treasury ?

The unconscious elements of the universe exist solely and exclusively for the use and benefit of the conscious. This natural, necessary and indisputable relation, —the natural right of the conscious to use or to utilize the unconscious— is the relation of ownership. The unconscious element of the universe is wealth, of which the conscious element is the owner. Wealth, having an owner, is property —the property of the owner. The unconscious, in whatever form or mode, all of it, each and every part of it, is the property of the conscious.

The origin of existence, the beginning of being, conscious or unconscious, the pre-existence or co-existence of a creator, are questions which have no bearing whatever upon the matters we are investigating.

The Christian, who believes that the God created both the conscious and the unconscious, does and must believe that the unconscious was created solely and exclusively for the use and benefit of the conscious; and the skeptic or pagan, though incredulous as to the origin or beginning, can not dispute the existing fact.

If all things exist for the glory of God, God is most glorified when the right prevails. The laws of right are legibly and indelibly inscribed in words of truth on the face of facts. He who honestly, earnestly and energetically seeks, may find the facts, and read the laws. The object of religion is to aid men in that seeking and reading, and the shadow of bigotry should not be allowed to fall upon and conceal from view the objects which religion would point out. Why should a Jew refuse to accept a truth offered by a gentile, because the gentile refuses to be circumcised ? Why should a Christian, while offering a heretic the key to heaven, refuse to receive from that heretic anything which is good both to give and to receive ? Let us be ready to accept the truth from whatever source it comes; let us agree whenever agreement is possible, and it will soon appear that our disputed points are not so numerous, so important, or so irreconcilable. as has been supposed.

The immense common estate of the conscious, consisting of the whole of the unconscious part of the universe, has been divided up and distributed throughout the immensity of space. Innumerable planetary systems, like groups of islands in a boundless ocean, are so far separated from each other that communication seems to be impossible, even between planets warmed by the same sun. Now, even if the inhabitants of each planet should recognize the fact that all planets are but parts of a common estate, the impossibility of communication, and the fact that whatever was done on one planet could not in any known manner affect the welfare of the inhabitants of any other planet, would justify the inhabitants of each to consider the one inhabited by them to have been allotted to them for their own exclusive use and benefit; or, being in possession under such circumstances, they would be justified in

considering themselves the owners. The right to use or utilize anything is ownership.

The inhabitants of Earth, the conscious, own Earth, and own every unconscious thing in or around it which can be used or utilized by the conscious.

The common ownership, by all the conscious, of all the unconscious, necessarily existing in the nature of things, is an indefeasible, inalienable natural right, irrevocable and unchangeable while the conscious and the unconscious continue to co-exist. It being impossible for all common property to be used in common, distribution becomes necessary, and therefore right; and individuals thereby acquiring the right to use and utilize the parts allotted to them, become the owners of such parts; and thus individual ownership is established without in the least impairing or invalidating the pre-existing and co-existing common ownership. All things at any time owned by individuals as private property are, and necessarily must be, at the same time common property.

Property is anything owned, and therefore may include any and every thing which can be used or utilized; that is, all wealth.

We have seen that the world is a common estate, owned by all the conscious beings which inhabit it, and administered by the people. We have defined ownership as the right to use or utilize anything; but a right can only exist when its existence or exercise promotes the general welfare. The general welfare requires a distribution of all wealth among individuals in such a manner as will best promote that welfare; therefore ownership carries with it the obligation to assign, transfer, or distribute the wealth owned, in such manner as the general welfare may demand. The individual owner of private property can only own it on the condition that he makes a better use of it than any other owner would make; or, practically, in the affairs of men, every owner of private property, to be considered the rightful owner, should be supposed to use his property in a manner best calculated to promote the general welfare, —notably by increasing the desirability of wealth, as by converting clay into bricks or by converting any pre-existing form of matter or motion into more desirable forms, thereby producing machinery, books, music, food, clothing, shelter, etc., &c.

The right to hold wealth, and use it productively, or to hold it at all, thereby preventing it from being used by others, is the right of all citizens equally, and becomes an individual right, or the exclusive right of an individual, only by consent of the people and for the common benefit, and as a certificate of purchasing-power, or evidence of debt due by the people to the individual.

The individual who by his labor increases the desirability of wealth, — that is, the individual who improves the property of the people, as by converting clay into bricks, acquires thereby a natural right to consume, or use destructively, as many units of desirability as he has produced. The value of any article produced from materials which in their original form had no value, is an index or measure of the desirability of that article; therefore the individual who makes valuable bricks out of valueless clay earns the right to consume, or use destructively, wealth in some form equal in value to the bricks produced. The bricks, (improved clay), are as much the property of the people, after he made them, as was the original clay; but inasmuch as their value is the value he has created, they constitute a perfect measure of the value of his services to the people in creating them. The people own the bricks, but owe him for making them. The bricks, while held by him, are the unmistakable evidence of that debt. The bricks, belonging to the people, all citizens have an equal right to hold them; and, being the common property of all citizens, any citizen who holds them for his own purposes, must render an equivalent to the people for their use, —that is, **must pay a rent**, or tax, or hire, as an equivalent for that use.

The individual right is a right to purchasing-power, or the right to consume as much as he has produced. If he has no use for the bricks, and

does not wish to pay a tax on his purchasing-power, let him sell the bricks to somebody, who does want to use them, at their market value in money, which should not be taxed, and which should be simply a certificate of the debt due him. But money, to be rightfully exempt from taxation, must be made of nearly or quite valueless material, like paper; for if a valuable material, like gold, is used for money, and is not taxed, the wealth, (gold,) thus uselessly employed, would be a dead loss to the people, and of no service to the individual, further than as an evidence of debt; and furthermore, the supply of gold, being capricious and uncertain, the value of gold must necessarily fluctuate, and with it the purchasing-power its ownership confers.

The natural right to purchasing-power, or the right of individuals to consume or to use wealth destructively, is acquired by citizens as an equivalent for services rendered to the people. The wealth of the country should be distributed among individuals by valuation, conferring purchasing-power on each in proportion to his natural right to it. All such ownership, except the ownership of money, should be taxed, or made to pay rent to the people.

To explain the foregoing statements relating to the distribution of the wealth of the world, is one of the principal objects of this work.

Common ownership is superior to private ownership; and when the general welfare demands that any individual be compelled to exchange the private ownership of any one kind of property for that of some other kind of equal value to him, or for equivalent benefits in any form, the individual must and of right should, submit to the exchange, and is not in any degree wronged thereby.

Ownership is a right which can exist only in accordance with all other rights, and specifically subject to just laws of distribution and exchange. Neither the rich nor the poor have any right to complain of any distribution or redistribution of wealth demanded by the general welfare, provided that no one is unjustly deprived of income.

While, for convenience, we may speak of humanity as collectively owning Earth, or of a people as exclusively owning a country, yet we should always bear in mind that, in doing so, we ignore the rights of inferior beings and dependents.

All the wealth of the world is common property, of which all conscious beings in the world are joint or common owners. The joint ownership, being indefeasible, entitles each owner, under any given circumstances, and at any given time, to the use, (private ownership), of a certain definite proportional part of all property of every kind; or, as an equivalent for, or representative of, that proportional part of all kinds of property, to the private ownership of some particular part of one or more kinds; or, as an equivalent for such private ownership, to utility or benefits fully equal to, or in excess of, what would be derived from such private ownership.

Partly from necessity, and partly by common consent, the Earth's surface is portioned off among the several nations which occupy it. How far this distribution is just and equitable, I shall not at present inquire. Assuming that

it is just, the ownership of each country by its inhabitants is a matter of course. Ignoring the existence of any thing but citizens, the several citizens of a country are the equal and common, or joint owners, of all the wealth in that country. No citizen is necessarily the private individual owner of any particular part of that wealth, but is necessarily part owner of the whole of it. The distribution of that common estate should be such that the best use will be made of it; that is to say, such distribution should be made as would best promote the general welfare, without the violation of individual rights. When any kind of wealth exists in superabundance, every citizen, under all circumstances, has the right to help himself, and become the individual or private owner of all he can use or utilize of it, because no other method of distribution of such wealth could so well promote the general welfare. When any kind of desirable wealth is scarce, its ownership becomes valuable, and its value to the owner, under normal conditions, exactly measures his desire to retain the ownership of it.

The equal ownership of the common estate implies that the equal undivided parts so owned are, under ordinary circumstances, equal in value. For example, if, in a country which contains 1,000,000 citizens, the value of all property is \$10,000,000,000, then each citizen of that country is necessarily, and of natural right, the owner of an undivided part, of the value of \$10,000. This does not imply, however, the individual private ownership of any particular thing, but it does imply an equivalent for the ownership of a quantity of wealth represented by \$10,000; it means that, in that country, the laws and institutions should provide that wealth should be so distributed and held that every citizen should have, as an equivalent for his ten-thousand-dollar interest in the common estate, opportunities for profitable employment according to his ability and industry. For all such opportunities proceed alone and necessarily from the use of the wealth of a country.

All property may be rightfully distributed among a part of the people to the exclusion of another part only on the ground that all are benefited by such unequal distribution and exclusion. Every citizen, because he is an equal owner of all wealth, is interested in having wealth produced as cheaply as possible. The price of production is consumption. Private ownership carries with it the right to consume the wealth owned. The total of wealth consumed is the price paid by the people for the total of wealth produced. The excess of production over consumption is the gain or profit made by the people; is the natural rent due to the people; and whoever consumes as much as, or more than he produces, is not willing to, or cannot, under the circumstances, produce as cheaply as others.

If he consumes more than he produces, it will not be for long, for he will soon find himself, or should soon find himself, without assets, and in a condition in which it will be necessary for him to measure his consumption by his production; but, even then, he would still be entitled to opportunities as good as the general welfare would permit, or the general interests allow, or equal rights demand; and perhaps to opportunities as good as or better than he

would have if his equal share of all wealth were then given to him with the understanding that thereafter society would owe him nothing.

Any existing or proposed distribution of wealth, to be right, must be better for any one citizen than if equal distribution should be made and that one citizen thereafter be left to shift for himself. The widow mentioned in the following item from the *New York Herald* probably thinks that an equal distribution of existing wealth would be very much better for a very large part of the people than is the present distribution in the United States. If she is right, then the present distribution cannot be right.

"SHIRTS AT FORTY-FIVE CENTS A DOZEN.

A widow, who feared that the wholesalers for whom she works might take her work from her if the *Herald* should publish her name, visited the *Herald* office yesterday and exhibited some shirts for making which her two daughters are paid forty-five cents a dozen. 'We got along,' she said, 'and paid our rent until my youngest boy was hurt and lost his situation, but since that time we have not been able to pay our rent and have had to move from place to place. My oldest boy sends us what money he can spare, but our main dependence is upon the twenty-three cents a day that we get for half a dozen shirts. We live about four miles from Fulton ferry, and my youngest boy walks to the ferry and crosses in the one cent hours to get the work from the New York dealers, and the next day, with half a dozen shirts in his arms, he goes to New York and gets the money. I am no longer able to work the sewing machine that we have hired, and it is breaking my daughters down. My youngest son, who is nineteen years of age, has tried in vain to get work, and we have all tried for months past, but unsuccessfully, to get money enough to take us back to the place we dwelt in four years ago.' The widow's husband died seventeen years ago, leaving what was estimated to be a handsome fortune; but the lawyers, she says, took every dollar of it long ago."

The much-vaunted equal opportunities at present enjoyed by honest American citizens are really in their nature like the chances in a fraudulent grand-lottery scheme, where all the prizes are drawn by an unjustly favored few. Justice demands that, in the distribution of wealth, as little as possible be left to chance, and that every citizen shall be enabled to acquire exactly in proportion to his efforts, intelligence and virtues. The foregoing facts published by the *New York Herald* are sufficient, without doubt, to condemn unqualifiedly our boasted civilization. No test could be more ample, conclusive and indisputable.

Practically, and in fact, the natural rent, or gain, or profit, or annual value to the people of all the wealth of a country, is approximately two per cent. of its market value. If the average per citizen, is ten-thousand-dollars-worth, then every citizen, whether poor or rich, is entitled to receive, in money or in something better to him than his money would be, two hundred dollars every year, as his share of the natural rent of all wealth. This fact will more clearly appear as we proceed.

The government of a state is agent and representative of the people, and transacts for and in the name of the people the business of the people. The government must pay what the people owe, and must collect what is due to the people. In the matter of receipts and expenditures, which we will consider as consisting of money received and paid out, the government should proceed, as far as possible, on the same lines that individuals or business associates do; that is according to contracts expressed or implied. There is an implied contract between the government and each individual citizen. The laws at any time in force determine what the contract in every case is.

The laws indicate in what ways, and on what terms, private property may be acquired and held, and they incidentally provide for supplying the public treasury with money. The laws should, if possible, anticipate every ordinary and extraordinary requirement of the treasury, and provide in advance for the same, so that every citizen may know under what circumstances he may or may not be called upon to contribute towards keeping a supply of money in the public treasury, and to what extent.

The government income being amply provided for in this manner, the government should then proceed, as any citizen would, to collect that which becomes legally due to the people, and to make its disbursements in accordance with the obligations of the people.

Remembering that every law should be simply a definition of right, it is evident that when just laws are established, every thing will have been done to regulate justly the receipts and expenditures of government.

Let us try to find out what would be right in the matter. Evidently the law should first provide for replenishing the treasury, by collecting into it such moneys as the people have the natural right to collect, in normal times, and under the ordinary circumstances of every-day life. Let us call such receipts ordinary revenue.

The law should also define just methods for obtaining money in case of extraordinary or irregular demands on the treasury, on account of war, pestilence, flood, famine or other fortuitous circumstances. Let us call the money obtained by government under abnormal circumstances, extraordinary revenue.

The people are the owner of all wealth, but the government can use to advantage only a comparatively small proportion of the whole; therefore the government should do exactly what any citizen would do under the same circumstances: namely, use what it can to advantage, and rent or let out the larger part. Now let us suppose that the present system of distribution could and should continue uninterruptedly for a few years more, until some one man had become the owner of all the wealth of the United States. Being the absolute larger part. Now let us suppose that the present system of distribution could and should continue uninterruptedly for a few years more, until

some one man had become the owner of all the wealth of the United States. Being the absolute owner of all wealth, he would be the absolute ruler of the people, and could impose any terms he pleased.

Suppose that he should come to the conclusion to distribute his wealth equally among citizens; to give it away in fact, on the following conditions:

1st. That he should be sovereign, and be called king; and that the sovereignty should descend at his death to his nearest kinsman forever.

2d. That, on the death of any citizen, his property should revert to the king.

3d. That all taxes for ordinary revenue should be abolished, but that the king might resort to special taxation, or imposts, as an expedient for regulating foreign commerce, and for restricting the development of any industry which he might consider prejudicial to the general welfare.

4th. That when extraordinary revenue should be required, it should be raised by an *advalorem* tax on assets.

5th. That the cost of providing for the poor and dependent, and for maintaining the government, should be paid from the king's treasury.

Now let us suppose that the king and the people carry out this agreement in good faith; that the king sells at public auction all the property which reverts to him at the death of private owners, and that he places the proceeds in his treasury; that he provides for himself and family more liberally than does any monarch in Europe; that he carries on his government economically; provides liberally for the poor and dependent; and expends whatever surplus there may be at any time in the treasury in some manner that will appear to be better for every citizen than if the money were distributed equally among all citizens; that he depends on laying and collecting an *advalorem* tax on all assets when extraordinary expenditures are demanded; and that otherwise the laws relating to property and its exchanges remain about the same as they are now.

It is evident that while this distribution of wealth which we have described should continue to be nearly equal among citizens, an *advalorem* tax on assets would be about the same thing in effect as a poll tax; but very soon the wealth would concentrate in the hands of a part of the people, to the exclusion of the other part, and be distributed among the former in proportion to their money-getting and money saving qualities; and then the taxes would fall exclusively upon this class.

The ordinary revenue of the king would be derived from the sale of property left by the private owners at death, and this method of obtaining a revenue would soon be found to be objectionable, not from its amount, but because it would deprive citizens, by cutting off their natural heirs, of a powerful motive for industry and economy, and also because it would not be pleasant to have an officer of the king waiting for the death of every citizen to claim what would be left by him for the king. Now, in view of this objection, let us suppose that it were agreed between the king and people, for their mutual benefit, to commute the king's right, as sole inheritor of estates, to an

annual tax to be paid to him by the living. In this case, it would be found that the king's revenues from inheritances every year would be exactly equal to a certain per cent. of the value of all assets, which per cent. would be equal to the death-rate.

If it were found that two per cent. of all citizens died every year, then the revenue of the king would be two per cent. per annum of the value of all property. This fact having been ascertained and recognized by the king and people, let it be supposed that the king agreed to accept in exchange for his right of inheritance an annual *according-to-value* tax of two per cent. on all assets. It is evident that the new arrangement would prove mutually satisfactory, because a new stimulant would be given to industry and economy, and the quantity of wealth would be thereby increased, and individual citizens would, besides feeling and enjoying a greater power to consume, have the satisfaction of knowing that those nearest and dearest to them would enjoy the fruits of their thrift if they themselves did not.

After the affairs of the people had become adjusted to the new order of things, the following features would be prominent: The ordinary revenues of the king would be derived exclusively from the two per cent. annual *advalorem* tax, and his extraordinary revenues, from an additional *advalorem* tax sufficient to meet the emergency. The owners of property, being compelled to employ it actively, would compete with each other for the services of those who work for wages, and wages would consequently rise beyond any point ever before reached; and, from the same active employment of wealth, the aggregate production would be very much greater than ever before. The wage-worker, being well paid, would consume in proportion to his means, and thus furnish a home market such as the world had never before heard of; the treasury-surplus being expended by the king in the manner described, would still further stimulate production and raise wages, and perhaps double the direct good effects of the tax; and, all the while, the king and his family would be consuming more than does any monarch and royal family of Europe.

Certainly if one man were the absolute owner of all the wealth of the world, he could not possibly do better for himself with it than to give it all away on the conditions above specified; and it is my purpose in this work to show that the people, who are the owner of all wealth, should dispose of it in a manner substantially the same.

Government should not engage in business of any kind unless it can do so in a better manner and at less cost than the same business would be done by private enterprise, and should never engage in business for the purpose of increasing its revenues, unless the increase be incidental to the enterprise. If it appears that, for any reason whatever, the government can carry the mails, or raise potatoes, more cheaply and in a more satisfactory manner than it can be done by individuals or private enterprise, the government should do the business; otherwise it should not. But, if it does the business, it should so regulate the rates of postage, or the price of potatoes, that the business would sustain itself, but not add to the revenue; because, if the government charges more than just enough to cover all expenses, those who send letters, or consume potatoes, are unjustly taxed for the benefit of others; and, if on the contrary, the government charges are too low, the people are unjustly made to give a bonus, or premium, to those who send letters or consume potatoes.

If the object of reducing the rates of postage is to encourage the circulation of literature, or the writing of letters, as a matter well calculated to benefit the whole people, then the measure is justifiable as an expedient for promoting the general welfare; but I can think of nothing that would justify increasing the rates of postage beyond what is required to make the business self-sustaining. A tax on whiskey and tobacco is justifiable, if necessary or convenient, as an expedient for protecting the people against the social evils resulting from the unrestricted production and use of those articles; but is unjustifiable if imposed for the purpose of raising a revenue, for the same reasons that a revenue for carrying the mails or raising potatoes is unjustifiable.

A bonus paid by the government for the encouragement of any industry whatever is justifiable to the extent that the general welfare is promoted thereby, it being understood that to promote the general welfare implies not only that the people are benefited as a whole more than they are injured, but also that the natural rights of individuals are not invaded. Anything which increases the general abundance of suitable food, clothing and houses promotes the general welfare, and any possible surplus revenue can be expended for the nearly equal benefit of all citizens in promoting the production of an abundance of these three essentials to well-being. Government should depend for its ordinary revenue on the death-rate tax, approximately two per cent. per annum on all assets; and should rigorously collect that tax, as being the natural rent due the people by citizens for the use of the wealth held or owned by each; and should judiciously expend all surplus over and above regular expenses in promoting the production of an abundance of suitable food, clothing and shelter.

When extraordinary revenues are required, they should be obtained by increasing the rate per cent. of the *according-to-value* tax on assets sufficiently

to meet the emergency. —Whether or not government bonds should be issued and sold, or the government credit in any manner extended to relieve property-holders from sudden and unexpected increase of the rate of taxation, is a matter of public policy in which the general welfare is to be considered in preference to the convenience of the individual holders of the wealth of the people.

Let us class the conscious beings of any nation as, first, citizens, and second, dependents.

The class, citizens, includes all adults of sound mind, male or female, who, if legally guaranteed their natural rights, either as employer or employed, or as employing themselves, would be able to produce, through life, as much as they have a natural right to consume. All others are dependents.

The equality of citizens has in general terms been already discussed. Practically, every adult, sound in body and mind, is a citizen. Citizens collectively constitute the people.

In the class, dependents, are included all persons not citizens, and all the lower animals, or conscious beings which, in the very nature of things, are in some degree dependent on citizens. Let us ignore foreigners and foreign countries, for the present.

To provide for dependents is a common obligation, or an obligation which devolves upon the people as a whole; and any expense connected therewith should be paid out of the common purse, or public treasury, and constitute a part of the regular expenses of the government. The education of the young, and the care of the aged and infirm, are of course incidental parts of the provision to be made for dependents. Inasmuch as the public treasury is supplied by *advalorem* taxes on assets, every citizen contributes to the support of dependents exactly in proportion to his ability to do so, and a paradox is thereby presented for investigation; namely, that a common obligation is paid out of the common purse, as strictly an equal contribution, while yet the common purse is supplied by citizens, not equally, but according to the ability of each to contribute. But the paradox disappears when we reflect that the common and equal obligation of citizens to provide for dependents, or contribute to the general welfare, can justly be neither more nor less than the obligation of each to contribute according to his ability.

All extraordinary expenses, arising from public misfortunes, as war, pestilence, flood or famine, are not of the same nature as that required for dependents, and constitute a class of expenses radically different from those incurred in normal times to better the condition of citizens generally and equally. —One part of the *according-to-value* tax is to provide for the former class of expenses, on the ground, that a common obligation should be borne by each, according to his ability; and the other part of the *advalorem* tax, amounting to two per cent. of the value of assets, is simply the rent or hire of wealth paid to the people by property-holders.

All citizens have an equal right to that rent ; and, on the ground that citizens are equal before the law, they, (when their treasury is in receipt of that natural rent), must be considered equally able to contribute to meet the common obligations of the treasury. The proceeds of the two-percent. tax should be used, until wholly exhausted, on the basis that all men are equally

able to bear the burden of government, and equally entitled to participate in the benefits to be derived from any surplus in the treasury. But political equality produces or permits unequal results to the citizens, and the people must recognize and accept such results. Therefore, when the proceeds of the two-per-cent. tax prove insufficient to meet the extraordinary expense of government, caused by misfortune or public calamity, it becomes necessary to recognize the unequal ability of citizens to contribute to those expenses; and resort must be had to a measure which is thereby rendered just and necessary, —namely, that of compelling every citizen to contribute, according to his ability, by a further *advalorem* tax on assets.

And now, to state in a word the whole broad principle underlying Rent and Revenue, it is evident that, inasmuch as all wealth belongs to all men, the people have a perfect right to lay and collect an *according-to-value* tax on assets, whenever and to whatever amount the general welfare demands.

Una Birch (feminine free-mason), in 1911, wrote an essay on the SECRET SOCIETIES AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION and published it in the *Edinburgh Review* and in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, and later in booklet form.

To set the tone of her article, Madam Birch quoted Lord Acton:

"The appalling thing in the French Revolution is not the tumult, but the [design](#). Through all the fire and smoke we perceive the evidence of [calculating](#) organisation. The [managers](#) remain studiously concealed and masked; but there is no doubt about their presence from the first." --*Lectures on the French Revolution*, page 97.

Excerpt from what Miss Birch wrote, which Mr. Clark should have read if he had lived long enough:

"The Great Revolution has been assumed to be a spontaneous national uprising against oppression, privilege, immorality in high places, and conditions of life making existence a burden for the proletariat. Such a theory would cover the rebellion that razed the Bastille and caused the clamour at Versailles, that destroyed the country houses and killed the nobles; but it does not cover the intellectual and social reforms which were the kernel of the Revolution, and its true objective. These, on the other hand, have been too easily attributed to the publication of the *Encyclopædia*, and of certain other volumes by Beccaria, Rousseau, or Voltaire. Books were undoubtedly partially responsible for the awakening of the educated classes. The rationalist presses in Dublin, the Hague, and London, poured pamphlets into France to be sold by itinerant booksellers, who hawked them in country districts concealed beneath a thin layer of prayer-books and catechisms. But the pamphlets and books more often found their way to the public pyre than to the domestic hearth, and it can hardly be argued that these irregularly distributed volumes were directly responsible for the Revolution, though they too formed one of the contributory agencies of that cataclysm.

"Men have said that liberal ideas were in the air, and that no one could so much as breathe without inhaling them; but this suggestion is meaningless, for to, say ideas are "in the air" is to say many people hold them, which is hardly a way of accounting for their being held by many people. A suggestion so unsatisfying constrains us to seek the causes of contagion in a theory of more direct contact. If a book would not set a midland village on fire to-day, how much less would it have done so in the olden days when the poorest classes were completely unlettered? The *Encyclopædia* and the works of economists and philosophers made their appeal in intellectual circles, and those words of reasonableness and light scarcely could have illumined the mental twilight of the lower bourgeoisie, much less have penetrated the darkness in which the peasant classes lived. Yet the Revolution, as its results testify, was a national movement towards a new order of affairs, and not a general declension towards anarchy. Therefore, since [a spontaneous upheaval is unthinkable](#), and the history of smaller revolutions leads us to

infer that revolution is always the result of associative agitation, it probably originated in a certain co-ordination of ideas and doctrines. These **ideas and doctrines must have been widely diffused** and widely apprehended, yet they could not have been spread by ordinary demagogic means ; for not only was freedom of speech prohibited, but it was illegal to publish unorthodox books. The publication of the *Encyclopædia* was forbidden in 1759, and both Frederick the Great and Catherine of Russia offered asylum to its authors. Till a few years before the Revolution it had been the custom to silence murmuring minorities by sword or fire. In 1762 the pastor Rochette died for his opinions, and the three Protestant brothers Grenier were decapitated, ostensibly for street brawling, but in reality for their faith. Monsieur de Laraguais was presented with a "lettre de cachet" for the citadel at Metz, for reading a paper in favour of inoculation before an assembly of the Academy in Paris. His defence was that by his advocacy he hoped to preserve to France the lives of the fifty thousand persons who died annually of small-pox. So associated had imprisonment and execution become with the holding of liberal ideas that when Boulanger died almost coincidently with the publication of his book "Les Recherches sur le Despotisme Oriental," men speculated whether his death could be attributed to natural causes. "Bélisaire," a moral and political romance by M. de Marmontel, provoked a tumult. Bachaumont relates that the Sorbonne saw fit to protest against Chapter XV., "which treats of Tolerance." In consequence the book was suppressed. "La Confession de Foi d'un Vicaire Savoyard" exerted an extraordinary influence in unseating existing authorities. It was what the publication of the Bible had been to Germany, an obligation to private judgment. The author of this book after this effort fell back on making laces since he could not take up his pen without making every power in Europe tremble.

"How is it possible that, when such penalties threatened the efforts of writers and speakers, ideas of progress could be cherished in thousands of minds, and the passion for social regeneration flame in countless souls ? Though there was no enunciation of liberal hopes in the market-places, yet an invisible hand, as in the day of Daniel, had written in flaming letters the word "brotherhood" across the tablets of French hearts. Was the dissemination of ideas, and the diffusion of enthusiasm, to be accounted for by the spirit of the age; or did the theory of the modern State generate spontaneously in the minds of Frenchmen ? Was the great Revolution a mere accident, or was it the inevitable result of co-ordinated ideas in action ? Taine was of the opinion that the doctrines propagated themselves, carried like thistle-down upon the winds of chance. The obvious inference to be drawn from his opinion is that the social idealists of the eighteenth century lacked either the courage or the zeal to further their beliefs; and that they, unlike their forerunners or their successors, were ready to entrust their hopes to the written word, and leave the rest to the gods. It is making too great a demand on human credulity to ask man to believe this, and **many significant facts witness to the hitherto unestimated work of the secret societies** in furthering the cause of popular

emancipation. Ideas are not suddenly converted into swords. Men must have hammered patiently and hard upon the anvil of the national soul to produce the keen-edged, swift-striking blade of revolution.

"The aim of all social institutions should be the amelioration of the physical, mental and moral condition of the poorest classes,' said one whom Barruel alluded to as "a demon hating Jesus Christ." The speaker was Condorcet, a man acquainted with the ideals of the secret societies. In announcing the eventual publication of the "History of the Progress of the Human Mind," a work interrupted by his death, he spoke of the destruction of old authorities by invisible associations. "There are moments in history," said George Sand, "when Empires exist but in name, and when their only life lies in the societies that are hidden in their heart." Such a moment for France was the reign of Louis XVI.

"Legends of secret societies survived in every part of Europe at the opening of the eighteenth century. They existed for the prosecution of Theurgia as well as Goetia, for masonry as well as mystical philosophy. Speaking generally, their interest did not lie in the region of politics or polemics, but in that of study, experiment, and speculation; and their chief care was the preservation and elucidation of ancient hermetic and traditional secrets. As a rule the Church had persecuted such societies, though her prelates had frequently condescended to the study of magic, and a few among them like Pope John XXII. had spent long nights in alchemical experiment. **It remained for the utopians** of the eighteenth century so to interpret the symbolism of the secret societies, so to affiliate them, and so **to organise the forces of masonry**, mysticism and magic, as for a few years to unite them **into a power capable** not only of inspiring but of precipitating **the greatest social upheaval** of Christendom.

"It is difficult to believe or understand, that bodies holding differing doctrines, adherents of many rites, disciples of divergent masters, ever commingled for a day in their enthusiasm for the common cause; yet **this singular and Hegelian amalgamation** seems in practice to **have taken place**. The principal force in the trinity of masonry, mysticism, and magic was masonry, and it, like many other innovations, was introduced into France **from England**."

In 1919, Mrs. Nesta Webster published her book, *The French Revolution*. Mr. Clark didn't get to read it, either. A few passages from the 500-page tomé:

THE PEOPLE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

Nearly every author in embarking on the story of the Revolution has considered it *de rigueur* to enlarge on the progress of philosophy that heralded the movement. The oppressions that had prevailed during the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. had, we are told, been endured in a spirit of dumb resignation until the teaching of Rousseau, Diderot, and other social reformers proclaimed to the nation that they need be endured no longer. If we regard the Revolution from the point of view of the people, this time-honoured preamble may, however, be dispensed with. Doubtless the philosophers played an important part in preparing the Revolution, but their direct influence was confined to the aristocracy and the educated bourgeoisie; to the peasant tilling the soil, the *Encyclopédie* and the *Contrat Social* were of less pressing interest than the condition of his crop and the profit of his labour. How the abuses of the Old Régime affected him in this tangible respect we can read in Arthur Young's *Travels*, in Albert Babeau's *Le Village sous l'Ancien Régime*, or in the works of Taine, where all the injustices of *tailles*, *capitaineries*, *corvées*, *gabelles*, etc., are set forth categorically, and are too well known to be enumerated here. Suffice it to say, these oppressions were many and grievous, but they sprang less from intentional tyranny than from an obsolete system that demanded readjustment. Thus certain customs that originated in benevolence had, through the progress of civilization, become oppressive—the *liberty* to grind at the seigneur's mill had become the *obligation* to grind at the seigneur's mill, whilst many feudal exactions and personal services were merely relics of the days when rent was paid in kind or in labour. It is evident, moreover, that many of these feudal oppressions that look so terrible on paper had fallen into disuse; thus, although the parchments enumerating the seigneurial rights were still in existence, "the power of the seigneurs over the persons of their vassals only existed in romances" at the time of the Revolution. In every ancient civilization strange archaic laws might be discovered—does not our own legal code enact that a man may beat his wife with any weapon no thicker than his thumb? but so far the women of England have not found it necessary to rise in revolt against this extraordinary stipulation.

For the peasant of France the most real grievances were undoubtedly the inequality of taxation and the "capitaineries" or game-laws, monstrous injustices that crippled his energies and often made his labour vain. Yet were the peasants of old France the wretched, down-trodden beings that certain historians have described them? The strange thing is that no contemporary evidence corroborates this theory; in none of the letters or memoirs written before the Revolution, even by such advanced thinkers as Rousseau and Madame Roland, do we encounter the starving scarecrows of the villages or

the ragged spectres of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine portrayed by Dickens; on the contrary, gaiety seems to have been the distinguishing characteristic of the people. The dancing peasants of Watteau and Lancret were no figments of an artist's brain, but very charming realities described by every traveller. Arthur Young, who has been persistently represented as the great opponent of the Ancien Régime, records few actual instances of misery or oppression, and, as we shall see, Young was later on led to reconstruct his views on the old government of France in a pamphlet which has been carefully ignored by writers who quote his earlier work in support of their theories.

But the most remarkable evidence on peasant life before the Revolution is to be found in the letters of Dr. Rigby, who travelled in France during the summer of 1789. This curious book, published for the first time in 1880, aroused less attention in England than in France, where it was regarded as an important contribution to the history of the period. The accounts it contains are so subversive of the accepted theories on peasant misery current in this country, and have been so little quoted, that a few extracts must be given here.

Between Calais and Lille "the most striking character of the country" through which Dr. Rigby passed was its extraordinary fertility: "We went through an extent of seventy miles, and I will venture to say there was not a single acre but what was in a state of the highest cultivation. The crops are beyond any conception I could have had of them —thousands and ten thousands of acres of wheat superior to any which can be produced in England. ...

"The general appearance of the people is different to what I expected ; they are strong and well-made. We saw many agreeable scenes as we passed along in the evening before we came to Lisle: little parties sitting at their doors, some of the men smoking, some playing at cards in the open air, and others spinning cotton. Everything we see bears the marks of industry, and all the People look happy. We have indeed seen few signs of opulence in individuals, for we do not see so many gentlemen's seats as in England, but then we have seen few of the lower classes in rags, idleness, and misery. What strange prejudices we are apt to take regarding foreigners ! . . .

"What strikes me most in what I have seen is the wonderful difference between this country and England ... the difference seems to be in favour of the former; if they are not happy, they look at least very like it. ..." Throughout the whole course of his journey across France Dr. Rigby continues in the same strain of admiration —an admiration that we might attribute to lack of discernment were it not that it ceases abruptly on his entry into Germany. Here he finds "a country to which Nature has been equally kind as to France, for it has a fertile soil, but as yet the inhabitants live under an oppressive government." At Cologne he finds that "tyranny and oppression have taken up their abode.... There was a gloom and an appearance of disease in almost every man's face we saw; their persons also look filthy. The state of wretchedness in which they live seems to deprive them of every power of exertion ... the whole country is divided between the Archbishop and the

King of Prussia ... the land is uncultivated and depopulated. *How every country and every People we have seen since we left France sink in comparison with that animated country !*" It is evident that, however rose-coloured was Dr. Rigby's view of France, the French people had certainly not reached that pitch of "exasperation" that according to certain historians would account for the excesses of the Revolution. Lady Eastlake, Dr. Rigby's daughter, who edited these letters from France, fearing apparently that her father will be accredited with telling travellers' tales, attempts in the preface to explain his remarks by quoting the observation of De Tocqueville: "One must not be deceived by the gaiety the Frenchman displays in his greatest troubles, it only proves that, believing his unhappy fate to be inevitable, he tries to distract himself by not thinking about it—it is not that he does not feel it." This might possibly describe the attitude of the French people towards their government during the centuries that preceded the Revolution, when, convinced of their impotence to revolt, they resigned themselves to oppression; but at the period Dr. Rigby describes the work of reform had long since begun and they had therefore no cause for hopelessness or despair. Louis XVI. had not waited for the gathering of the revolutionary storm in order to redress the evils from which the people suffered; in the very first year of his reign he had embarked on the work of reform with the co-operation of Turgot and Malesherbes. In 1775 he had attempted to introduce the free circulation of grain—thereby enraging the monopolizers who in revenge stirred up the "Guerre de Farines"; in 1776 he had proposed the suppression of the *corvée* which the opposition of the Parlements prevented; in 1779 he had abolished all forms of servitude in his domains, inviting "all seigneurs of fiefs and communities to follow his example"; in 1780 he had abolished torture; in 1784 he had accorded liberty of conscience to the Protestants; in 1787 he had proposed the equality of territorial taxation, the suppression of the *gabelle* or salt tax, and again urged the abolition of the *corvée* and the free circulation of grain; in 1787 and 1788 he had proposed reforms in the administration of justice, the equal admission of citizens of every rank to all forms of employment, the abolition of *lettres de cachet*, and greater liberty of the press. Meanwhile he had continued to reduce the expenses of his household and had reformed the prisons and hospitals. Finally on August 8, 1788, he had announced the assembling of the States-General, at which he accorded double representation to the Tiers États.

In this spring of 1789 the French people had therefore every reason to feel hopeful of the future and to believe that now at last all their wrongs would be redressed. Had not the King sent out a proclamation to the whole nation saying, "His Majesty has desired that in the extremities of his kingdom and in the obscurest dwellings every man shall rest assured that his wishes and requests shall be heard" ?

"All over the country," says Taine, "the people are to meet together to discuss abuses. ... These confabulations are authorized, provoked from above. In the early days of 1788 the provincial assemblies demand from the syndi-

cate and from the inhabitants of each parish that a local enquiry shall be held; they wish to know the details of their grievances, what part of the revenue each tax removes, what the cultivator pays and suffers. ... All these figures are printed ... artisans and countrymen discuss them on Sunday after mass or in the evening in the great room at the inn. ...”

The King has been bitterly reproached by Royalists for thus taking the people into his confidence over schemes of reform; such changes in the government as were needed, they remark, should have been effected by the royal authority unaided by popular opinion. But the King doubtless argued that no one knows better than the wearer where the shoe pinches; and since his great desire was to alleviate the sufferings of his people, it seemed to his simple mind that the best way to do this was to ask them for a list of their grievances before attempting to redress them. Believers in despotism may deplore the error in judgement, but the people of France did not mistake the good intentions of the King, for in the *cahiers de doléances* or lists of grievances that arrived from all parts of the country in response to this appeal the people were unanimous in their respect and loyalty to Louis XVI.

What, then, did the cahiers demand ? What were the true desires of the people in the matter of government ? This all-important point has been too often overlooked in histories of the Revolution; yet it must be clearly understood if we would realize how far the Revolution as it took place was the result of the people's will. Now the summarizing of the cahiers by the National Assembly revealed that the following principles of government were laid down by the nation:

- I. The French government is monarchic.
- II. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred.
- III. His crown is hereditary from male to male.

On these three Points the cahiers were unanimous, and the great majority were agreed on the following:

- IV. The King is the depositary of the executive power.
- V. The agents of authority are responsible.
- VI. The royal sanction is necessary for the promulgation of the laws.
- VII. The nation makes the laws with the royal sanction.
- VIII. The consent of the nation is necessary for loans and taxes.
- IX. Taxes can only be imposed from one meeting of the States-General to another.
- X. Property is sacred.
- XI. Individual liberty is sacred.

In the matter of reforms the cahiers asked first and foremost for the equality of taxation, for the abolition of that monstrous privilege by which the wealthier classes of the community were enabled to avoid contributing their rightful share towards the expenses of the State ; they asked for the free admission of citizens of all ranks to civil and military employment, for revision

of the civil and criminal code, for the substitution of money payments in the place of feudal and seigniorial dues, for the abolition of gabelles, corvées, franc-fief, and arbitrary imprisonment.

In all these demands we shall find no element of sedition or of disaffection towards the monarchy, but the response of a loyal and spirited people to the King's proposals for reform. Such animosity as they displayed was directed against the "privileged orders," and, as we shall see, this sentiment was not wholly spontaneous. Hua, a member of the Legislative Assembly, has well described the attitude of the people in pages that may be summarized thus:

The Ancien Régime had very real abuses, there was every reason to attack it. The clergy and noblesse had lost their power and their *raison d'être*; they were obliged to let the Third Estate come into its own by giving up their privileges. Nothing could have stopped this or ought to have stopped it. "It has been said that the Revolution was made in public opinion before it was realized by events; this is true, but one must add that it was not the Revolution such as we saw it ... *it was not by the people that the Revolution was made in France.*" And in confirmation of this statement, with which, as I shall show, contemporaries of all parties agree, Hua points out that "the voice of the nation cried out for reform, for changes in the government, but all proclaimed respect for religion, loyalty to the King, and desire for law and order."

What, then, was needed to kindle the flame of revolution? To understand this we must examine the intrigues at work amongst the people; these and these alone explain the gigantic misunderstanding that arose between the King and his subjects, and that plunged the country on the brink of regeneration into the black abyss of anarchy.

THE SUBVERSIVES

These men desired no change of dynasty or in the government; their aim was purely destructive. Three years later, when the monarchy was abolished, many of the revolutionary leaders declared that they had all along been Republicans at heart, but if we examine their earlier writings we shall find that at the beginning of the Revolution none of them had formulated any such political creed. "There were not ten of us Republicans in 1789," Camille Desmoulins wrote afterwards, and since Camille at this date was one of the Duc d'Orléans' most enthusiastic admirers, the number may be reduced at least by one. With the exception perhaps of Lafayette, whose experiences in the American War of Independence inspired him with Republican sympathies, those of the earlier revolutionaries who were not Orléanistes had no definite theories of reconstruction—their aim was merely to clear the ground of all existing conditions. "All memories of history," said Barrère, "all prejudices resulting from community of interest and of origin, all must be renewed in France; we wish only to date from to-day." "To make the people happy,"

said Rabaud de Saint-Étienne, “their ideas must be reconstructed, laws must be changed, morals must be changed, men must be changed, things must be changed, *everything, yes, everything must be destroyed*, since everything must be re-made.”

These subversive theories emanated from certain secret societies of which an English writer calling himself John Robison described the aims in the title of his book, *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Free-Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies*. Robison, who was himself a genuine Freemason, made a tour of the Continental lodges, where he found that a new and spurious form of masonry had sprung into existence. Both in France and Germany “the lodges had become the haunts of many projectors and fanatics, both in science, in religion, and in politics, who had availed themselves of the secrecy and freedom of speech maintained in these meetings. ... In their hands Freemasonry became a thing totally unlike, and almost in direct opposition to, the system imported from England, where the rule was observed that nothing touching religion or government shall ever be spoken of in the lodges. ...” The Association, in fact, was “all a cheat, and the leaders ... disbelieved every word that they uttered and every doctrine that they taught ... their real intention was to abolish all religion, overturn every government, and make the world a general plunder and wreck.”

A further development of German Freemasonry was the Order of the Illuminati founded in 1776 by Dr. Adam Weishaupt, a professor of the University of Ingoldstadt in Bavaria. Weishaupt, who had been educated by the Jesuits, succeeded in persuading two other ex-Jesuits to join him in organizing the new Order, and it was no doubt this circumstance that gave rise to the belief entertained by certain contemporaries that the Jesuits were the secret directors of the sect. The truth is more probably that, as both Mirabeau and the Marquis de Luchet, in their pamphlets on the Illuminati, asserted, Illuminism was founded on the régime of the Jesuits, although their religious doctrines were diametrically opposed. Weishaupt, whom M. Louis Blanc described as “one of the deepest conspirators that ever existed,” had adopted the name of Spartacus—the leader of an insurrection of slaves in ancient Rome—and he aimed at nothing less than *world revolution*. Thus the Order of the Illuminati “abjured Christianity, advocated sensual pleasures, believed in annihilation, and called patriotism and loyalty narrow-minded prejudices incompatible with universal benevolence”; further, “they accounted all princes usurpers and tyrants, and all privileged orders as their abettors; they meant to abolish the laws which protected property accumulated by long-continued and successful industry; and to prevent for the future any such accumulation, they intended to establish universal liberty and equality, the inalienable rights of man, and as preparation for all this they intended to root out all religion and ordinary morality, and even to break the bonds of domestic life, by destroying the veneration for marriage-vows, and by taking the education of children out of the hands of the parents.”

These were precisely the principles followed by the Subversives of France in 1793 and 1794, and the method by which this project was carried out is directly traceable to Weishaupt's influence. Amongst the Illuminati, says Robison, "nothing was so frequently discoursed of as the propriety of employing, for a good purpose, the means which the wicked employed for evil purposes; and it was taught that the preponderancy of good in the ultimate result consecrated every means employed, and that wisdom and virtue consisted in properly determining this balance. This appeared big with danger, because it seemed evident that nothing would be scrupled at, if it could be made appear that the Order would derive advantage from it, because the great object of the Order was held superior to every consideration."

It is this doctrine that provides the key to the whole policy of the leading revolutionaries of France, and that, as we shall see later, brought about the Reign of Terror.

Quintin Craufurd, the friend of Marie Antoinette, writing to Pitt in 1794, remarked: "There is a great resemblance between the maxims, as far as they are known, of the Illuminés and the early Jacobins, and I am persuaded that the seeds of many of those extravagant but diabolical doctrines that spread with such unparalleled luxuriance in the hotbeds of France were carried from Germany." The lodges of the German Freemasons and Illuminati were thus the source whence emanated all those anarchic schemes that culminated in the Terror, and it was at a great meeting of the Freemasons in Frankfurt-am-Main, three years before the French Revolution began, that the deaths of Louis XVI. and Gustavus III. of Sweden were first planned.

The Orléanist leaders, quick to see the opportunity for advancing their own interests, joined the Freemasons, and the Duc d'Orléans succeeded in getting himself elected Grand Master of the Order in France. A little later Mirabeau went to Berlin, and whilst in Prussia attracted the attention of "Spartacus" and his colleague "Philo," alias the Baron Knigge of Frankfurt-am-Main, who through the influence of Mauvillon, a disciple of Philo's, persuaded him to become an Illuminatus. On his return to Paris Mirabeau, together with Talleyrand and the Duc de Lauzun, inaugurated a lodge of the Order, but none of the three being as yet adepts they were obliged to apply to headquarters for aid. Accordingly two Germans were sent to initiate them further in the doctrines of the sect. Before long the Club Breton, the first revolutionary club, later to be known as the Club des Jacobins, became the centre of Illuminism and Freemasonry, for all its members were also members of the two secret societies. But though the leading Orléanistes were all Freemasons, all Freemasons were not Orléanistes; some were pure Subversives, and M. Gustave Bord is no doubt right in stating that the duke was only the visible head of the sect whose members used him as a cover to their designs, whilst he and his supporters used them with the same object. Thus Chamfort, though a member of the Orléaniste conspiracy, was at heart a Subversive, as an illuminating conversation he once held with Marmontel at the beginning of

the Revolution testifies. Chamfort having remarked that it would not be a bad thing to level all ranks and abolish the existing order of things, Marmontel replied:

"Equality has always been the chimera of republics and the bait that ambition offers to vanity. But this levelling down is all the more impossible in a vast monarchy, and in attempting to abolish everything it seems to me that we should go further than the nation expects, and further than it wishes."

"True," said Chamfort, "but does the nation know what it wishes? One can make it wish, and one can make it say what it has never thought ... the nation is a great herd that only thinks of browsing, and with good sheepdogs the shepherds can lead it as they please." He went on to explain that one must help the people according to one's own lights, not according to theirs, and spoke cheerfully of a Revolution that would make a clean sweep of the Old Régime, a scheme he thought by no means impossible to carry out, for though it might be difficult to move the industrious citizens, there was always the class that has nothing to lose and everything to gain which could be stirred up by rumours of massacre, famine, and so forth. The Duc d'Orléans, he ended by remarking, must be made use of for this purpose. When to this Marmontel suggested that the duke had hardly the makings of a leader, Chamfort replied imperturbably:

"You are right, and Mirabeau, who knows him well, says it would be building on mud to count on him, but he has identified himself with the popular cause, he bears an imposing name, he has millions to distribute, he hates the King, he hates the Queen still more."

Such, then, were the "democratic" principles of the Subversives, and the methods described by Chamfort were, as we shall see, precisely those employed to work up the people. The first item on their programme was the systematic dissemination of class hatred and the promise of unlimited booty.

"Name me as your representative at the States-General," said Robespierre in his electioneering speeches, "and you will be for ever exempt from those burdens which have so far been required of you on the pretext of the needs of the State. ... This will not be the only benefit you will enjoy if I succeed in becoming one of your representatives; too long have the rich been the sole possessors of happiness. It is time that their possessions should pass into other hands. The castles will be overthrown and all the lands belonging to them will be distributed amongst you in equal portions." To the agricultural labourers he promised the fields they cultivated, to the retainers of the nobles he offered freedom from all duties. "Everything will be changed, for masters will become servants, and you will be served in your turn."

It will be seen, therefore, that from the outset "equality," the great watchword of the Revolution, had no place in the minds of the Subversives; conditions were simply to be reversed, wealth was to change hands, a process that was to be never-ending, since that which was at the top was to be perpetually thrust to the bottom, and that which was at the bottom raised to the top.

Towards religion the Subversives displayed the same attitude as towards government; their animosity was not directed against the Church of Rome more than against Protestantism; it was religion in itself they detested, and that they set out to destroy. When we study the manner in which they carried out their design, when we read of the frightful profanity that was inaugurated during the Terror, the desecration of the churches, the blasphemies against Christ and the Holy Virgin, and the worship of Marat, it is almost impossible to disbelieve in demoniacal possession, to doubt that these men, inflamed with hatred against all spiritual influences working for good in the world, became indeed the vehicles for those other spirits, the powers of darkness, whose cause they had made their own. And in their hideous deaths, for nearly every one perished on the scaffold, were they not, perhaps, like the Gadarene swine, victims of the demons that drove them to destruction ?

